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UN Secretary-General's Visit — Shamshad Ahmad

JAHANGIR'S

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# WORLD TIMES

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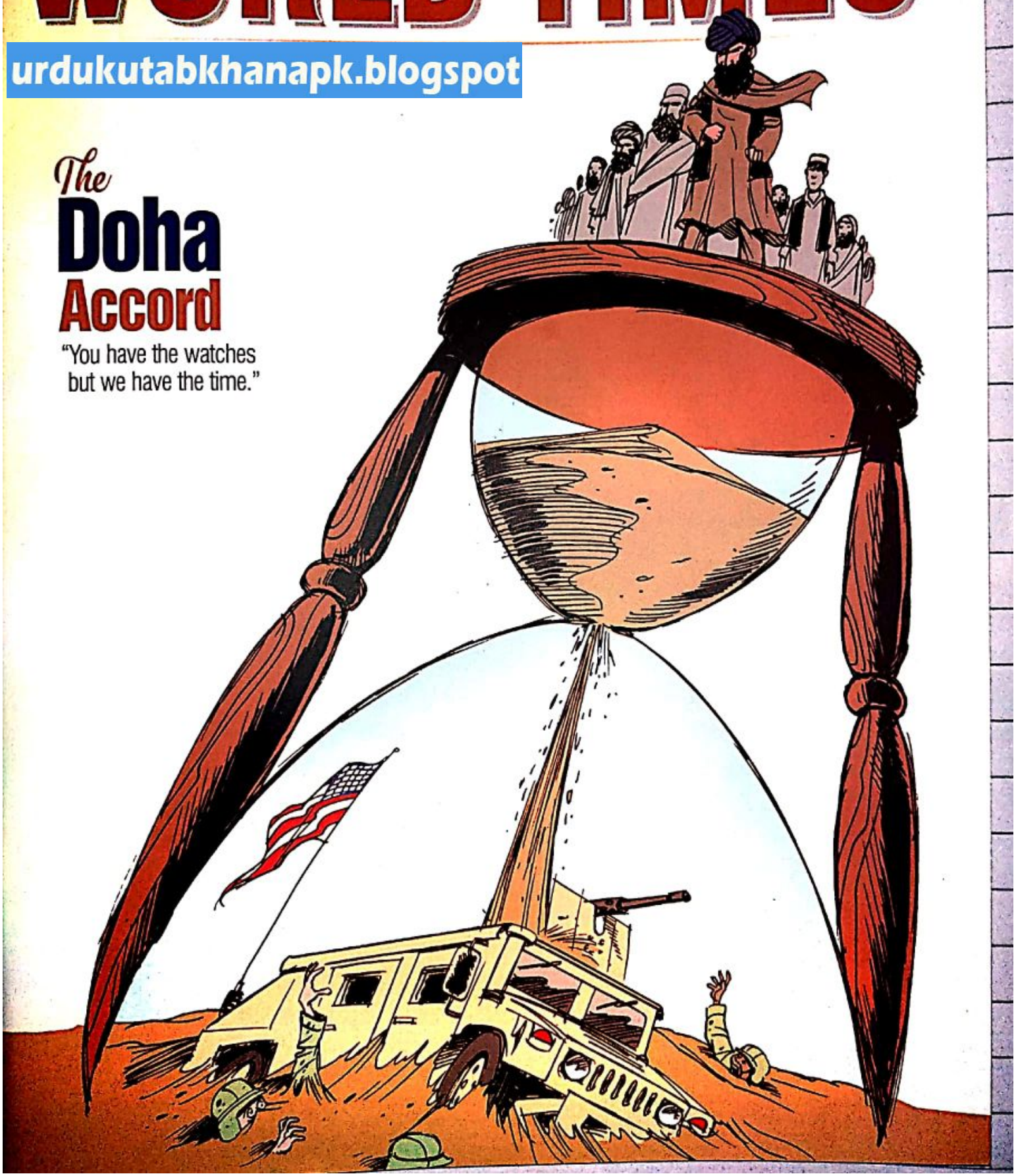
## The Doha Accord

"You have the watches but we have the time."



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# UN Secretary-General's Visit

## Pakistan's New Global Image

Shamshad Ahmad

For the first time in decades, we heard all the good things about our country during UN chief's four-day visit to Pakistan at the invitation of Prime Minister Imran Khan. Secretary-General Guterres was the chief guest and keynote speaker at an International Conference on '40 Years of Hosting Afghan Refugees in Pakistan'. His presence at this conference was itself a recognition of Pakistan's generosity and resolve in hosting Afghan refugees for the past four decades, and also appreciation of its efforts for Afghan peace and stability.

On this occasion, he acknowledged loud and clear: "Here in Pakistan, we see solidarity in action. Despite Pakistan's own challenges, it has protected Afghan refugees with the limited support from international community. One can imagine how unstable the region might have been without Pakistan's stellar contribution." During his visit, Secretary-General Guterres also delivered special talks on UN's three key areas of current focus, namely, sustainable development, climate change and peacekeeping. At all these events, he was all praise for Pakistan. He especially lauded Pakistan's singular contribution to UN peacekeeping operations through its valiant soldiers.

For the first time in decades, we heard a top world diplomat acknowledging Pakistan's role and relevance regionally as well as globally. His script was indeed music to our ears. The world should step back and look at Pakistan through a wider frame was the most remarkable message that the UN Secretary-General sent across the world at his press conference in Islamabad. He praised Pakistan for its commitment to peace, for its generosity in hosting millions of Afghan refugees, for its role in Afghan peace, for its contribution to

**For decades, having been on the top of many negative lists including those of world's most dangerous, most violent, most unsafe and most corrupt countries on earth, it was indeed heartening to see Pakistan being hailed by UN Secretary-General, António Guterres, as a 'trustworthy and benevolent nation' committed to peace and security regionally as well as globally. Not too long ago, Pakistan's recognition in the comity of nations was only as a 'breeding ground' for religious extremism and militancy, and as a country afflicted with terrorism. Every act of violence anywhere in the world was traced back to our country in one way or the other. Pakistan's name instantly raised fear and concern. We were seen both as the problem and the key to its solution.**

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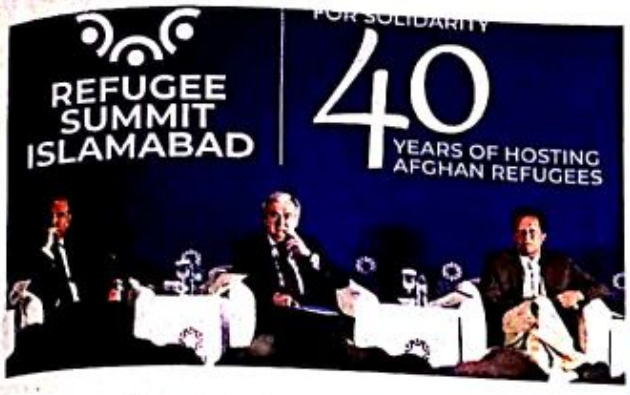


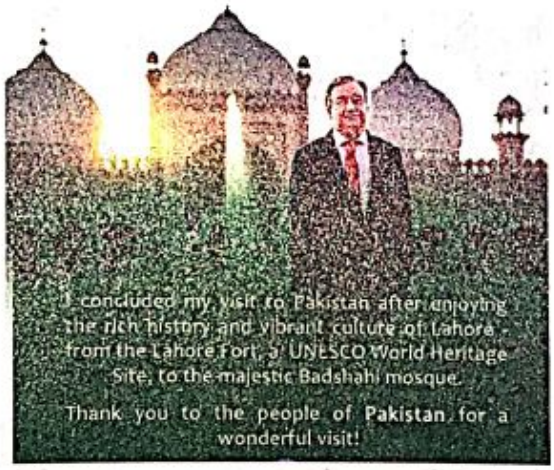
multilateralism, to the United Nations and UN peacekeeping operations, sustainable development and on climate change issues.

All these compliments were being heaped on Pakistan in the backdrop of India's Narendra Modi constantly smelling blood in the region. UN Secretary-General's visit to Lahore and Kartarpur was indeed a curtain-raiser for him on Pakistan's history as well as on its new identity. After his visits to Kartarpur Shrine and a Sikh Temple, as well as Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, he seemed moved by the show of religious unity that he witnessed in Pakistan. Guterres called the Kartarpur Corridor a "corridor of hope" and said: "When we see so many parts of the world fighting in the name of religion, it's necessary to say that religions unite us for peace and the best symbol is this shrine."

Lauding Pakistan's rich culture, the UN chief thanked the people of Pakistan in a tweet.

"I concluded my visit to Pakistan after enjoying the rich history and vibrant culture of Lahore—from the Lahore Fort, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, to the majestic Badshahi mosque," the UN chief tweeted. "This is a very emotional moment. It is wonderful to see interfaith dialogue," said the Secretary-General on the last leg of his visit to Pakistan. No wonder, this visit was not a mere protocol event; it marked a real diplomatic plus for Pakistan which, it seems, is beginning to find its new place in the comity of nations as a peaceful, tolerant and responsible state.

Among his meetings with Pakistani dignitaries, the most important was the one he had with Prime Minister Imran Khan whose personality has been largely instrumental in bringing about the change in world's perception of Pakistan. No diplomacy at any level could yield


I concluded my visit to Pakistan after enjoying the rich history and vibrant culture of Lahore from the Lahore Fort, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, to the majestic Badshahi mosque.
Thank you to the people of Pakistan for a wonderful visit!

this change. In his meeting with the Secretary-General, Prime Minister Imran Khan briefed him on all aspects of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, especially the situation arising from India's military vandalism and aggression in the occupied state of Jammu and Kashmir. Since August of last year, Occupied Kashmir has been turned into an open-air prison, not unlike Gaza, with a crippling lockdown.

Prime Minister Imran Khan minced no words in urging the UN to seriously involve itself in averting a human disaster in Kashmir which has been under siege for more than six months now and needs UN's help in its ordeal under a complete military shutdown with no access to the outside world. Promotion and protection of human rights is a global responsibility which the United Nations must discharge in respect of the people of Kashmir who are facing the worst holocaust of the 21st century. The prospect of an impending genocide in Occupied Kashmir is a clarion call to the world community to act now, before it is too late. The UN must intervene to prevent mass murder in Kashmir.

The world must also not ignore Imran Khan's warnings that this time an India-Pakistan conflict could erupt into a nuclear apocalypse that must be averted at all costs. On his part, Secretary-General Guterres was forthright in speaking out on the gravity of the situation. He expressed "deep concern" over aggravating India-Pakistan tensions, calling for India to respect "human rights and fundamental freedoms" when dealing with discontent in the occupied territory. "I have repeatedly stressed the importance of exercising maximum restraint and taking steps to de-escalate both militarily and verbally, while reiterating my offer to exercise my



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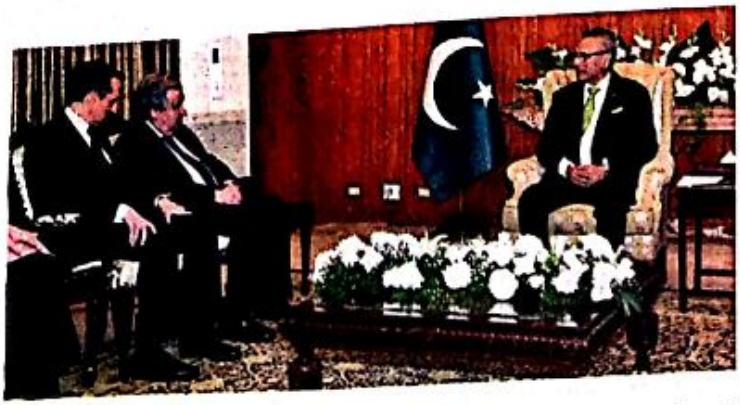
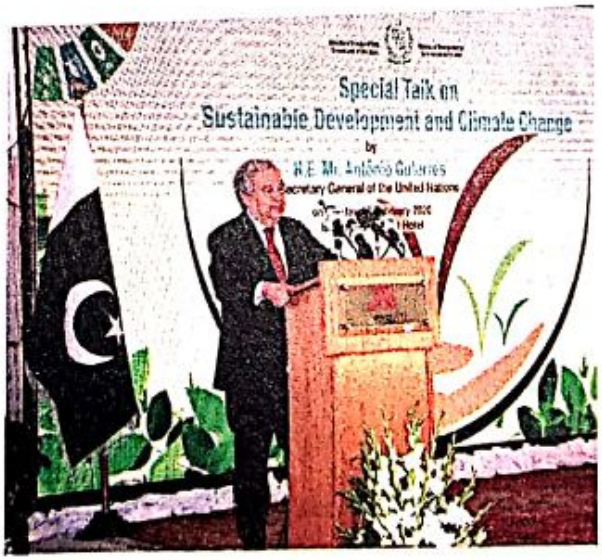


good offices should both sides ask," he said. He also reiterated UN position on Kashmir as governed by the UN Charter on peaceful settlement of disputes and by relevant Security Council resolutions.

All said and done, UN Secretary-General's visit to Pakistan was a good opportunity not only to project a positive image of Pakistan but also to flag to the world community that no matter what the Indians claim, beyond UN Security Council's resolutions, there is no compact formula or tailor-made solution for resolving the long-outstanding Kashmir issue. But India has thwarted all attempts by the United Nations to organize a plebiscite in the State. But that does not exonerate the UN of its Charter responsibility.

There are many things the UN can do at least to alleviate the Kashmiris' suffering. But no matter how well-meaning the UN Secretary-General may have been in whatever he said in Pakistan, we should have no illusions on the UN's capacity to deliver on its Charter obligations or on Security Council resolutions. The "overriding" vested political and economic interests of the more powerful players known as P5 have seriously constricted UN's functioning. As in the case of the League of Nations, the UN is no longer the sole meaningful arbiter on issues of global relevance and importance. Nor is it governed by the rule of law or universally established norms.

It has resolved no major disputes; nor has it prevented any conflicts. Decisions on major issues are taken in Washington, not in New York. Even the Secretary-General will be looking towards Washington when seeking second tenure end of next year. No wonder, President Trump is all the time trumpeting his own 'arbitrary' credentials to play a decisive role on Kashmir. To what extent can the UN play any role is there for all to see.




Will the United Nations meet the same fate as its predecessor the League of Nations, or in other words, will the United Nations survive the constant erosion in its credibility, role and authority? The answer is simple. The United Nations can remain relevant only if it defends what is "good and just" and opposes what is "evil and unjust." It will have to revive the moral and multilateral core of its raison d'etre. This requires it to be strengthened to make it more representative and more effective inter-governmental organization where 'one-state, one-vote' principle will underpin its pluralistic, democratic and participatory character.

Emerging from the ashes of World War II, the United Nations was meant to save humanity and its succeeding generations from the scourge of war. It was established to pursue the twin goals of peace and prosperity. For the realization of these goals, it was hailed as "mankind's last best hope". It was meant to provide a moral edifice in re-ordering of the global system, which would be based on justice and equity and which would be governed by rules, laws, values and cooperation.

The post-war generation saw in the UN a guarantee against big power domination as well as the promise of a helpful hand to those struggling for a life free of poverty, disease, illiteracy and hunger. Multilateral cooperation was to be the norm for resolving all global problems, political, economic and social. With this norm, the UN was to pioneer the way to a new and better world. It was a pragmatic response to imperatives of the fast-changing world as a result of increasing global inter-dependence and phenomenal technological advances.

*The writer is a former foreign secretary.*



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# Trump's Middle East Peace Plan

## The "Giveaway of the Century"

Shafqat Javed

On January 28, President of the United States, Donald Trump, presented his long-awaited Middle East peace plan—the so-called "deal of the century"—wherein he proposed an independent Palestinian state and the recognition of Israeli sovereignty over West Bank settlements. Standing alongside Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu at the White House, Mr Trump said his proposals could be the "last opportunity" for Palestinians. A cursory look at the plan reveals its lopsidedness as it gives Israel much of what it has long sought and imposes daunting requirements that the Palestinians must meet before negotiations can even begin. The President described his plan, orchestrated by his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, as "the last opportunity" for a Palestinian state, but it is, in fact, the "giveaway of the century".

January 28, 2020 could very well go down as the most mind-boggling day in the history of Israel and its relations with the United States. Against the backdrop of a White House audience of enthusiastic cheerleaders, in a ceremony that seemed to fuse a Donald Trump rally with a religious Zionist gala, the president pronounced a dramatic, pro-Israel shift in US foreign policy and laid down a lopsided peace plan that exceeds any rational Israeli's wildest dreams. The extraordinary event was rendered even more surreal by the fact that mere hours before Benjamin Netanyahu flashed self-satisfied grins as he stood at Trump's side in Washington, his indictments were formally submitted to Jerusalem District Court, which he will soon face as a criminal defendant. Anyone unfamiliar with the Israeli prime minister's rapidly escalating legal woes would never have guessed it: Netanyahu was beaming like a groom at his wedding. In the following paragraphs, a brief analysis on various aspects of Trump's "deal of the century" is being presented:

**1. It supports Israel**

The so-called "Vision for Peace" simply confirmed that the US government has publicly adopted the long-running consensus in Israel: that it is entitled to keep permanently the swaths of territory it seized illegally over the past half-century that deny the Palestinians any hope of a state. The White House has discarded the traditional US pose as an "honest broker" between Israel and the Palestinians. This was a deal designed in Tel Aviv more than in Washington—and its point was to ensure there would be no Palestinian partner. Importantly for Israel, it will get Washington's permission to annex all of its illegal settlements, now littered across the West Bank, as well as the vast agricultural basin of the Jordan Valley. Israel will continue to have military control over the entire West Bank. The Trump deal also approves Israel's existing annexation of East Jerusalem. The Palestinians will be expected to



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## What are the issues at stake?

Of all the conflicts in the Middle East, that between Israel and the Palestinians has been the most intractable. Although the two sides signed a breakthrough peace accord in 1993, more than a quarter of a century on, the two sides are arguably as far apart as ever.

**Jerusalem**

Both Israel and the Palestinians hold competing claims to the city. Israel, which occupied the formerly Jordanian-held eastern part in 1967, regards the whole of Jerusalem as its capital. The Palestinians insist on East Jerusalem—home to about 350,000 of their community—as the capital of a hoped-for independent state.

**Palestinian statehood**

The Palestinians want an independent state of their own, comprising the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. Israeli prime ministers have publicly accepted the notion of a Palestinian state alongside Israel but not what form it should take. Benjamin Netanyahu has said any Palestinian state should be demilitarised with the powers to govern itself but not to threaten Israel.

**Recognition**

Israel insists that any peace deal must include Palestinian recognition of it as the "nation-state of the Jewish people", arguing that without this Palestinians will continue to press their own national claims to the land, causing the conflict to endure. The Palestinians says what Israel calls itself is its own business, but to recognise it as the Jewish state will discriminate against Israel's Arab population of Palestinian origin, who are Muslims, Christians and Druze.

**Borders**

Both sides have fundamentally different ideas as to where the boundaries of a potential Palestinian state should be. The Palestinians insist on borders based on ceasefire lines which separated Israel and East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza between 1949 and 1967. Israel says those lines are militarily indefensible and were never intended to be permanent. It has not said where borders should be, other than making clear its own eastern border should be along the Jordan River.

**Settlements**

Since 1967, Israel has built about 140 settlements in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem, as well as 121 outposts—settlements built without the government's authorisation. They have become home to some 600,000 Israeli Jews. Settlements are considered illegal by most of the international community, though Israel disputes this. Palestinians say all settlements must be removed for a Palestinian state to be viable. Mr Netanyahu has vowed not only to never to uproot any settlements but also to bring them under Israeli sovereignty.

**Refugees**

The UN says its agencies support about 5.5 million Palestinian refugees in the Middle East (the Palestinian Authority says there are up to 6 million), including the descendants of people who fled or were expelled by Jewish forces from what became Israel in the 1948-49 war. Palestinians insist on their right to return to their former homes, but Israel says they are not entitled to, noting that such a move would overwhelm it demographically and lead to its end as a Jewish state.

pretend that a West Bank village outside the city is their capital of "Al Quds". There are incendiary indications that Israel will be allowed to forcibly divide the Al Aqsa mosque compound to create a prayer space for extremist Jews, as has occurred in Hebron.

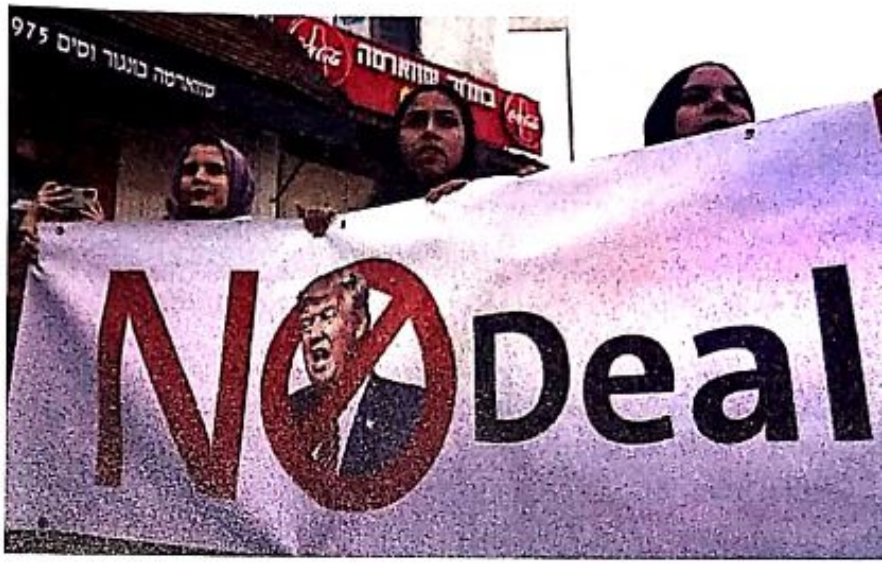
**2. It's not a deal**

What Trump has hailed as the "deal of the century" is actually a misnomer. It is not a deal in the actual sense of the word as it does not reflect a compromise between two equal partners. Instead, it is an attempt to impose Trump's ideas on the Palestinians. The Palestinians, who were not even consulted in the formulation of the plan, would be the clear losers should this proposal be implemented.

Trump's plan supposedly envisions an independent Palestinian state, though they must be subordinate to Israeli security interests and completely demilitarized. Jerusalem is to become Israel's "undivided" capital and the Palestinians may retain some eastern neighbourhoods as their future capital.

**3. No Significant Arab backing**

The only Arabs present at the White House when the plan was being announced were the Ambassadors of Oman, Bahrain and the United Arab




Emirates—three out of the twenty-two members of the Arab League. On 31st January, the summit of Arab foreign ministers was held, upon requests by the Palestinians, in the Egyptian capital, Cairo. The AL unanimously rejected US President Donald Trump's controversial Middle East plan, calling it "unfair" to Palestinians and that it does not meet the "minimum rights and aspirations of Palestinian people." It also warned that Israel must not act on the plan unilaterally—a reference to Israel's stated intention to move on annexation as soon as possible.

**4. It isn't an operational plan**

Most American peace initiatives over the years—from Kissinger's disengagement agreements between Israel, Egypt, and Syria (1973-1975) to Jimmy Carter's Egypt-Israel peace process (1978-1979) to the Madrid peace conference (1991) to the US-brokered interim accords in Oslo (1997-1998) to various US initiatives on final peace deals with Israel, Syria and the Palestinians—were designed to launch talks, bridge gaps, create trust between the parties and ultimately reach comprehensive accords. Indeed, these previous efforts were marked by hundreds of hours of US dialogue with each side, including direct talks between the two sides and in other cases three-way US-mediated discussions. Trump's plan appears



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few of the outer neighbourhoods of East Jerusalem while maintaining that the city will remain the undivided capital of Israel. And the plan all but relegates the refugee issue to the back burner—ruling out the right of return or compensation.

At the same time, the Trump administration has put the Palestinians on a kind of probation. If they disarm Hamas, Palestine and Islamic Jihad, establish good governance, recognize Israel as a Jewish state, among other things, then and only then is a faux state possible.

Trump's "deal of the century" is really the steal of the

to be just the opposite: a one-hand clapping exercise preternaturally tilted toward Israeli needs and requirements without the benefit of the due diligence required to produce a sustainable basis for negotiations on which both Israelis and Palestinians could engage.

There is no serious timeline or deadline and no operational component; Palestinians are given the arbitrary time of four years to decide on the plan. Lurking not so far beneath the surface is the administration's expectation that the Palestinians will not engage. In the words of its key architect, Jared Kushner, Palestinians "have a perfect track record of missing opportunities."

**5. It's not about peace**

The US has a special relationship with Israel that it doesn't have with any of the Arab parties to the conflict. In many of its previous initiatives, Washington has clearly tilted toward Israel on security issues but also at times on many of the political issues as well.

But the tilt goes beyond anything any administration has done in the past. The plan adopts Netanyahu's view that a much-shrunken Palestinian entity, including (roughly) 70% of the West Bank, will be a state in name only. Israel will control its borders, air space, electro-magnetic spectrum, foreign policy and security.

On Jerusalem, the plan allows for a kind of Palestinian sub-capital in a

## Trump administration's so-called Mideast peace plan

Although economic planks of US' so-called peace plan touted as 'finding a solution' to Israeli-Palestinian issue may seem to favor Palestinians, its political pillars would consolidate Israeli occupation over Palestinian territory

**PLAN CONSISTS OF 2 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PACKAGES**

Experts say so-called peace plan would eliminate possibility of a 2-state solution to Israeli-Palestinian issue

**TRUMP ADMINISTRATION THROWS 2-STATE SOLUTION INTO FIRE**

- State called **'New Palestine'** would be established in territory outside Jewish settlements in occupied **West Bank and blockaded Gaza Strip**
- New Palestinian state **would not have an army; only police** would carry light weapons
- Deal requires **disarmament of Hamas and other Palestinian groups** and also says they must recognize Israel as 'Jewish state with Jerusalem as its capital'
- **Borders of new Palestinian state** would be **under Israeli control**
- **Illegal Jewish settlements** in West Bank and Jordan Valley would be under **'Israeli sovereignty'**
- **Jerusalem would be given completely to Israel**
- Deal contains no right to return of some **6M Palestinians displaced since 1948**

**ECONOMIC PACKAGE**

Deal promises **$50B investment fund**

**$5B transportation corridor** would be built between occupied West Bank and blockaded Gaza Strip



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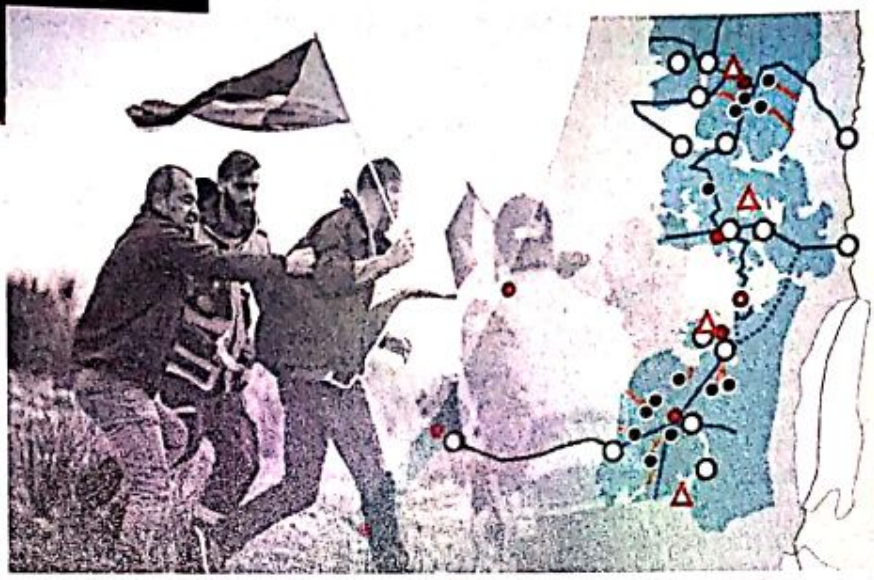
century—validating almost all Israeli claims and leaving Palestinians with the scraps Israel can afford to do without. The only peace here is Netanyahu's peace of mind that he has managed without a negotiation to get America from the Iran nuclear agreement and the Paris climate accord—wanted to disrupt traditional approaches and put its own mark on the peace process too.

Animated by an extreme pro-Israeli bias and frustration with the Palestinians, the administration has now changed the game and fundamentally altered the US approach of the past three administrations by aligning its view with Israel's on the Jewish state's final borders.

And Netanyahu may not waste any time in taking advantage by extending Israeli law to West Bank settlements and the Jordan Valley. Once he does, Donald Trump may yet add another first to his collection: the first US President to watch the two-state solution expire on his watch.

**Conclusion**

Indeed, the deal of the century reflects the triumph of Trump's arrogance, domestic politics and pro-Israeli bias over any commitment to serious peacemaking, let alone an already fraught two-state solution which the administration seems determined to bury. The Trump plan will probably let the conflict—now in its seventy-second year—rumble on for another four years, with ominous implications for all countries in the volatile Middle East. The whole discussion can be summed up in the words of Michael Lynk, the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the occupied Palestinian territory, who said: "This is not a recipe for a just and durable peace but rather endorses the creation of a 21st-century Bantustan in the Middle East ... The Palestinian statelet envisioned by the American plan would be scattered archipelagos of non-contiguous territory completely surrounded by Israel, with no external borders, no control over its airspace, no right to a military to defend its security, no geographic basis for a viable economy, no freedom of movement and with no ability to complain to international judicial forums against Israel or the United States."



to back the right's conception of what Israel's borders should be.

**6. It violates international law**

The US decision to recognize all settlements on the West Bank as effectively part of Israel violates international law and UN Security Council Resolution 242, which emphasizes the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. The new US plan paves the way for Netanyahu or his successor to annex all the settlements, which comes after the US recognition of Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights and the move of the US embassy to Jerusalem.

Moreover, the implementation of the plan would intensify the extent to which Palestine resembles an apartheid state. The crime of apartheid, defined as an "inhumane act committed in the context of an institutionalised regime of systematic oppression and domination of one racial group over another," is criminalised under the Statute of the International Criminal Court.

**7. Reshapes US policy**

There is little doubt that domestic politics drove both the timing and the content of the peace plan. With little more than six weeks to go before Israeli elections, the desire to boost the political fortunes of the beleaguered Netanyahu played a key role. Waiting for the election results and for a new government might have taken until May or produced no government. And that would have gone deeper into 2020 and interfered with the President's electoral clock. But there was something else, too. The Trump administration as with so many of its initiatives—withdrawing



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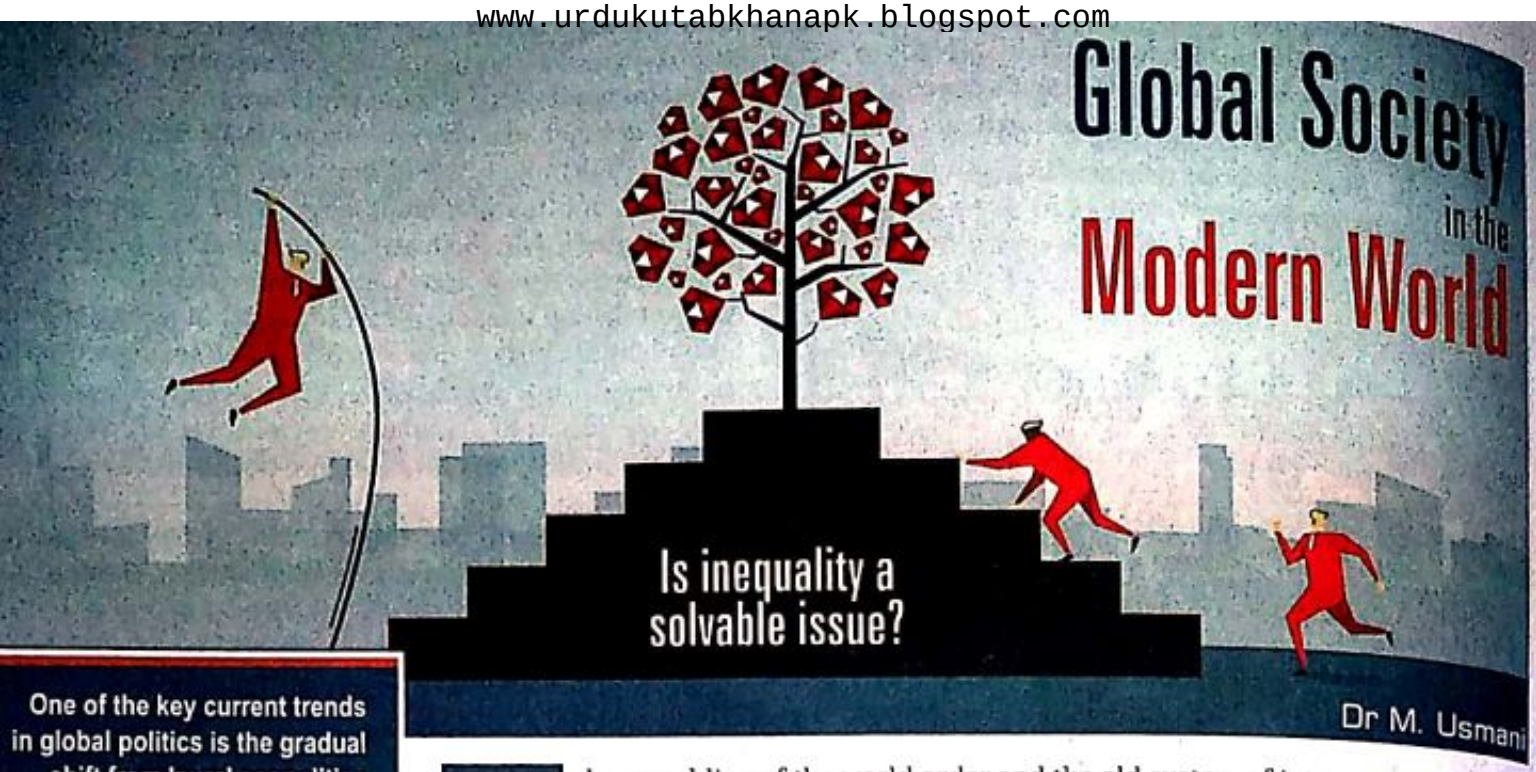

# Global Society in the Modern World

## Is inequality a solvable issue?

Dr M. Usmani

One of the key current trends in global politics is the gradual shift from 'pure' geopolitics and the hard/soft power of sovereign states to global problems (environmental, resource, demographic and social). The past decade saw the term 'global problems' itself crystallize into a new concept, the Global Commons, understood in a narrowly environmental and a broader social sense. It is discussed both at the UN in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals and at various international venues. In the narrow sense, the term 'Global Commons' is understood as the environment, including the air (and the climate), potable water, arable land, biodiversity and so on. In a broader sense, it comprises the common social heritage of human society at the planetary level, including access to healthcare, the minimum (and later high protein) food basket, a comfortable urban and social environment, etc. The most radical and expansive interpretation treats the Global Commons as the planetary, i.e. trans-border, unity of the human race.

The crumbling of the world order and the old system of international relations and unions, as well as the increasingly real prospect that the world will plunge into total chaos, affect both politics and global society. This, in turn, influences relations between the society and the government in individual countries as well as world trends. As a consequence, the feeling that social change is of global importance is reflected not only in political practices but also in the domain of values and ideologies. A case in point is the evolution and expanding value of the Global Commons. While previously this value was understood primarily in the environmental sense as the need for a global commitment to nature and climate conservation, today there are increasingly frequent calls for a social understanding of the Global Commons as a universally shared basis for a harmonious global society in the coming decades.

The point of departure for this change was the alienation of elites from society that occurred in all leading countries of the world. While in previous decades, protests against this alienation, though taking bizarre forms in the anti-globalization movement, failed to move the general public, the situation today is different. At first, the economic crisis at the turn of the century turned consumer society into a civic society. The feeling of civic responsibility and of belonging (and the demand that the authorities feel the same) led to powerful street protests and the emergence of new left progressive movements that refused to recognise the old elites and the old order (l'ancien régime of sorts). In some countries, they managed to achieve important electoral successes.

Nevertheless, this was not the end of the story. Their open criticism of not just individual officials or party coalitions but the entire existing political system lifted taboos on protest thinking in even deeper strata of society—ordinary people in the neutral sense of the word. These segments of society were not prepared for serious political self-organization and street rallies and, unlike the progressive movements, they did not attract the attention of the left liberal media. They could voice their discontent only by voting in elections.

The prevailing sentiments in these strata are evident in the recent electoral success of outsider forces on the right, an outcome that shocked the old elites but was quite logical in reality. Their conscious rejection of political correctness and displays of populism on the campaign trail were only a means, not an end in themselves. As a result, we see a growing sense of an accelerating democracy deficit on both the political right and left. Thus, the changed relationship between society and the elites is growing stable and qualitatively different both in the West and on the global scale. Consequently, real democracy as a feature of a global common good (as opposed to the habitual electoral

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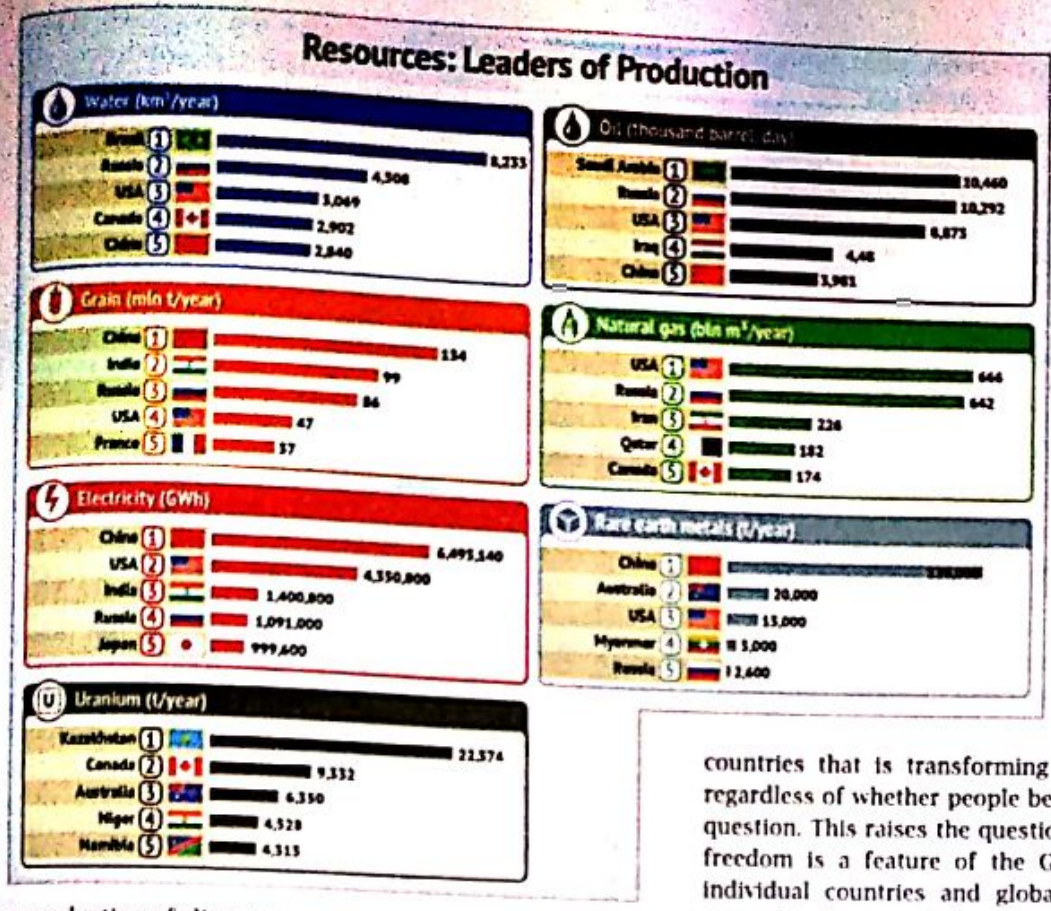


reproduction of elites in consumer societies) is emerging as a matter of key importance for the future socio-political dynamics of the world.

Yet another serious challenge is the 'toxicity' of international relations spilling over to public opinion in many countries. The current situation is distinct from before in that the sides consciously reject whatever remained of the Cold War ethics against utterly demonizing the rival. Hence, the new terms—'toxic relations' and 'toxic war'. In this context, there is again a great need for a media image of an external enemy, in part as a convenient pretext for deflecting attention from domestic problems and crises. The resulting picture is revealing: an election (or a referendum) is lost because of a 'toxic' external enemy's meddling rather than by dint of societal disappointment with the elite. Naturally, this approach requires special (if not total) information and media support. Now, for the first time in decades, the public in leading countries has been directly targeted by government manipulation of the media. This strategy has proved somewhat effective in the medium term, it must be acknowledged. The new phobias transmitted to society by the media have the effect of changing public opinion, making it less susceptible to open and self-critical discourse. By drastically curtailing the right to freedom of thought, it also serves as yet another accelerant of the growing democracy deficit mentioned before.

The information war between the West and Russia is clearly the main, if far from the only, example of this approach. Just reading what the UK press writes about the European Union and its leaders is enough to demonstrate that this media demonization and 'toxicity' trick is widely employed in West-West relations as well. The progressing deterioration of US-European and US-Chinese relations is also amplified by media support. Once used, it is tempting to keep on using a forbidden trick ad infinitum. Therefore, Donald Trump's 'fake news' remark is not just an emotional retort but also a rule of information policy in leading countries that is transforming society in a major way, regardless of whether people believe or reject the news in question. This raises the question of whether information freedom is a feature of the Global Commons, both in individual countries and globally as part of a newly-appreciated common inheritance.

The global migration problem has only grown more urgent in recent years. A prime example is the migrant crisis in the European Union that has led to the collapse of European solidarity. Right-wing forces from outside the system are openly exploiting xenophobia for political purposes and their electoral successes prove that these views are resonating in society. The Trumpism phenomenon is mostly based on opposing immigration. Trump's wall has come to symbolise the desire of a wealthy global elite to fence themselves off from the rest of the world. It has also brought into the present the debate on the gap between North and South and raised the very urgent question of whether solidarity with migrants should be viewed from the perspective of values as an element of global ethics and the Global Commons, or whether migrants are a threat that demands an appropriate response.

Projecting the migration problem into the future, it fits into the broader ideological context of human unity on a planetary scale. The key premise in this respect is the universal right to equal access to resources (where 'universal' encompasses both individual countries and the world as a whole). Generally, this meets no objections (the imperative of global ethics), but, in fact, the situation is much more complicated. The developing world's political ideology is exposing neocolonialism and its various forms (environmental, demographic, educational, technological, and more). Political scientists are coming to the conclusion that the West/North is using various pretexts to deny the



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Global South its right to development, when during their own industrialization, the advanced countries were unconcerned about the environment or labour protection and felt no scruples siphoning resources from their colonies. Paradoxically predicated on concern for the Global Commons, this neocolonialism will only grow stronger in the future. This is why, the Global South countries will never reach the same level of development as the West/North. As such, the global right to equal access to resources will remain a figment of the imagination.

Under these circumstances, migration appears to be the only path to securing this right. According to this logic, migration figures as an inalienable right rather than a despair-driven forced move. After all, if everyone has the right to a better life (which is not contested under the imperative of global ethics), it is but a tiny logical step from there to saying that everyone has the right to live where life is better. If a hypothetical Germany is a better place to live than a hypothetical Eritrea, then residents of Eritrea have the right to migrate to Germany. Here, the motto of 'Germany for Germans' underlying German sovereignty becomes outmoded and clashes with the right to development, with prosperous Germany emerging as the property of both its citizens and the rest of mankind—property that everyone has the right to enjoy. A new motto (and value), 'Germany for everyone', is coined and this eventually leads to potentially the tensest and most explosive situation where the right to migration is perceived as a global common good. Clearly, such global socio-political dynamics are an extremely serious challenge to sovereignty (and the state as an institution) and can cause fundamentally new types of conflict that will differ in kind from traditional geopolitical disputes.

The migration crisis, the proliferation of right-wing ideas from outside the system, and the current trends in the Islamic world have, each in its own way, highlighted yet another problem inherent in the global social dynamics, the issue of identity. In this area, there is also a growing challenge to the stereotypical perception of globalization as a tool for the inevitable erasing of differences between people at the planetary level. Understandably, this is accompanied by politically correct talks about 'unity in diversity' or how all ethnic groups will still sing their folk songs. However, this does not change what the trajectory of development is. Paradoxically, the anti-globalization movement of the past decade did not decry the trajectory, focusing its criticism solely on corporations and global financial institutions and posing as 'alter-globalists' rather than anti-globalists.

Today, however, the right to identity (religious, cultural, historical, behavioural, etc.) and the even more dramatic right to defend one's identity everywhere (both at home and away) and under all circumstances are drawing increased scrutiny. In this way, the identity issue is being transformed into the right to reject globalism as a global common good. Brexit and the Eurosceptics have shown that even West-West integration projects are perceived as an unacceptable threat to this perception of identity, and this goes double for relations between the West and non-West.

Perceived as non-globalism, individual identity is actively defended by states that put forward typologically similar arguments in favour of their right to defend their sovereignty and perceive external political pressure applied for the sake of global values and the Global Commons as a threat to their own 'sovereign identity'. This is preparing the ground for the rise of concepts such as 'sovereign historical memory', 'sovereign environment', 'sovereign democracy' and the like.

The debates around social globalism/identity are spawning more and more politically incorrect and often dangerous arguments to support the moral superiority of some groups over others. For example, Western demands that migrants obey the host society's rules often degenerate into open racism and Islamophobia. It is here that 'Western moral supremacy' comes through most strongly. As should be expected, the response is one of rejection. On the one hand, migrants claim the right to their behavioural identity in any place as a global value and demand respect for this right of theirs. On the other, they insist (often with good reason) that their religious and cultural values are superior to the godlessness of the Western host society and that they feel better grounded morally than the Westerners with all their pretences to Western moral supremacy. This fragmentation of globalism is rapidly turning into a tug-of-war based on just one question: who is better? Naturally, this leads to increased hostility and extremism on both sides, and effective attempts to reconcile these incompatible stances have been few and far between.

As a consequence, the destruction of the world political order is accompanied by a serious deformation of globalization's social systems. The controversial and occasionally provocative views that are currently taking shape in regards to social perceptions of the Global Commons are emerging as a challenge not only to the 'old order' of relations between elites and society in the sense of l'ancien régime but also to the traditional perception of sovereignty and the state as a whole. Will this lead to a surge of new global conflicts at various levels (society vs elites, poor vs rich, South vs North, and others)? This rhetorical question can help flesh out our conception of the 'typical' geopolitical conflicts we can expect in the future world after the breakdown of the old order.

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# BREXIT Got 'Done'

## What will be the future of European geopolitics?

M. Bilal Butt

Nearly three and a half years after the landmark Brexit referendum, the United Kingdom has finally left the European Union. That means Britain exited the bloc of 27 remaining countries and will begin to forge its own way in the world. According to the agreements between the parties, the UK has entered an eleven-month transitional period which will last until December 31, 2020. It presumes that during this time, it could be possible to complete unfinished affairs and to "divorce" in full. At first glance, it is quite rational. However, this period of time is largely associated with uncertainty which has become a defining characteristic of the modern world. During this period, the UK will effectively remain in the EU's customs union and single market—but will be outside the political institutions and there will be no British members of the European Parliament.

On January 31, the United Kingdom left the European Union. For nearly three years, the world has watched London exhaust itself over the political deadlock, delayed departure timelines, referendum propositions and changes of political leadership. The world is well aware of what Brexit could mean for the UK and international markets, yet less has been said about what it will mean for the geopolitics of Europe.

The UK, the EU's second-largest economy, will withdraw from the region's largest economic and political institution. Moments like these in history are bound to carry heavy, lasting geopolitical consequences with them, and this is especially the case in a post-Brexit Europe. As the Union Jack was lowered from flagpoles outside EU buildings, cracks in the EU's institutional unity got exposed, further throwing off the political balance between various regional blocs over matters like the eurozone, migration and regulatory policies, and reactivating the fault lines of one of Europe's most historical competitions between Germany and France.

**Economic Impact and the Regional Divide**

When it comes to growing financial pains post-Brexit, the EU won't go unscathed. While the political distraction of Brexit will fade, the EU will be forced to replace the UK's contributions to its budget and navigate deeper, looming financial questions. Divergences will deepen between net contributors (mostly northern European states) and net recipients (southern and newer EU members to the east) over budget size, regional spending, integration and, of course, the eurozone. Brexit's greatest economic impact will

On January 31, the United Kingdom ended its 47-year integration with Europe, making a historic exit from the EU after years of bitter arguments to chart its own uncertain path. Beginning an 11-month transition period that will include tough trade talks, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson promised a "new era of friendly cooperation" with the EU, in an address released an hour before the UK left the now 27-member bloc, as thousands of Brexit supporters gathered to celebrate across the country. Johnson acknowledged that there may be "bumps in the road" ahead but vowed that the departure was an opportunity for "stunning success." He also said Brexit was a chance for a new start and emphasized the country's ability to succeed now as it had "taken back control."

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be on the EU's inner workings, in the absence of one of the union's largest budgetary contributors.

One of the largest sources of European tension will feature the EU budget, 11.26 percent of whose contributions in 2018 came from the UK, the fourth-largest net contributor after France and Germany. Brexit is a large budgetary loss for the EU, an institution that has struggled with increasing financial contributions among newer, eastern European members. To make up for it, the EU has promised to reduce regional spending with the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and European Social Fund (ESF), and has pressured its wealthier, northern members to bump up budget contributions each year. (Germany will fill most of the gap, providing the largest share of upward of 33 billion euros by 2027.)

And these financial adjustments will not come without political tension. Brussels' call to increase net budget contributions from wealthier northern states and keep the budget close to 1 percent of gross national income has indicated the growing influence of Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Austria and Sweden, the so-called "frugal five," to maintain a more conservative budget that restricts regional spending. Most southern and eastern members are more dependent on the union's regional spending and have begun to protest further cuts. This divergence over spending will inevitably spill over into the EU's fundamental debate over prized farm subsidies, rebates and how to narrow the growing gap between net recipients and net contributors.

Northern, southern and eastern states also diverge on post-Brexit economic priorities—lingering differences that could aggravate European political disunity. While the EU's northern members seek to co-opt the UK's financial industry and preserve free trade, Brussels faces conflicting interests among its southern and eastern members that seek out agreements that can improve their own domestic financial situations, particularly the protection of agricultural cultivation and fisheries.

EU members also disagree over the scope of the union. Brexit will intensify the ongoing debate between EU members that wish to expand the EU with more accessions and members that seek to conserve the size of the union and deepen integration among existing members, placing a greater emphasis on institutional reform. This divergence is the crux of the EU's disunity, an imbalance that will become more volatile once the UK withdraws.

### Politics, Defense and Foreign Policy

Before Brexit, the EU was already divided. There have been many concerns that Brexit will boost populist, eurosceptic movements that could further jeopardize the EU's political and economic unity. France's far-right leader, Marine Le Pen, said after the 2016 Brexit referendum that "The UK has begun a movement that will not be stopped." However, these fears are exaggerated. Brexit has actually rallied pro-EU sentiment across the continent, with 61 percent of respondents in member states (excluding the UK) saying their country's membership in the union was a good thing, according to a recent European Commission survey, this year, up 8 percent from results shortly after the Brexit vote in 2016. The same survey reported that trust in the EU has increased in all member states, reaching its highest level since 2014. The institution is as popular as it was after the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, making any campaign for Swexit, Italexit, Nexit—really, any movement ending in "exit"—a risky venture. Britain's costly Brexit saga has caused anti-EU parties in Italy, France, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands to dial back calls to depart the EU, refashioning their campaigns to focus on "reform" and "institutional change."

The loss of the UK will send shockwaves through the bloc over foreign affairs and security.

Brexit is a key influencer in the EU's increasing experimentation with regional defence frameworks. Already, we have begun to see EU lawmakers attempt to recalibrate Europe's defence structure, with calls to bolster its Common Security and Defence Policy and create a European Defence Fund. The loss of the UK is a loss of the EU's largest defence budget contributor and second-largest armed force (right behind France), as well as the potential to weaken relations with the US. The UK contributed approximately 328 million euros to the CSDP in 2018, although it contributed modestly to EU CSDP missions and operations. And the UK also lent greater weight to the EU's foreign policy. The loss of the UK, with its array of full-spectrum defence capabilities and its status as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (that wielded veto power on decisions involving sanctions, multilateral intervention, and security crises), is a blow to the EU's foreign policy agenda.

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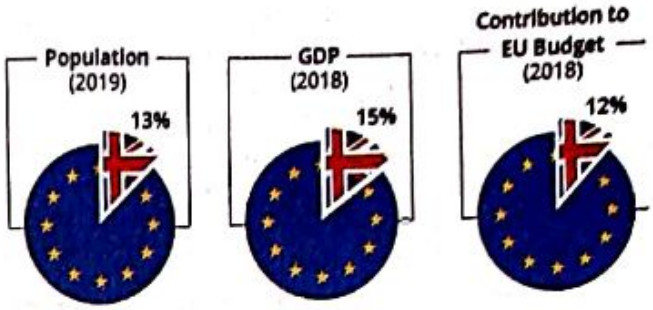
Then there is issue of how the UK bridged transatlantic policies. The UK's historical "special relationship" with the US brought more clout to the EU, giving Brussels assurance that Washington was (somewhat) on the same page regarding defence, foreign policy and free trade. With the UK departing and a more hostile US changing its relationship with the EU (threatening tariffs, troop withdrawal from Germany), Europe has been forced to seek new defensive alternatives. Certainly, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is alive and well, but if the tensions over the 70th anniversary NATO summit tell us anything, it is that many EU members remain nervous about a lack of European military independence. EU members have begun to mould Europe as an autonomous actor in security and defence. The EU has begun to establish defence initiatives that run parallel to and compliment the NATO framework, endorsing measures that increase intra-EU defence cooperation such as the European Defence Fund, the Permanent Structured Cooperation, and the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence. While Europe has been strategizing for a more autonomous defence structure before the Brexit referendum took place, the UK's withdrawal plays European anxieties over its lack of regional defence capabilities and will accelerate the EU's efforts to increase cooperation.

## Brexit: what the European Union loses

**United Kingdom's share of selected components of the European Union**



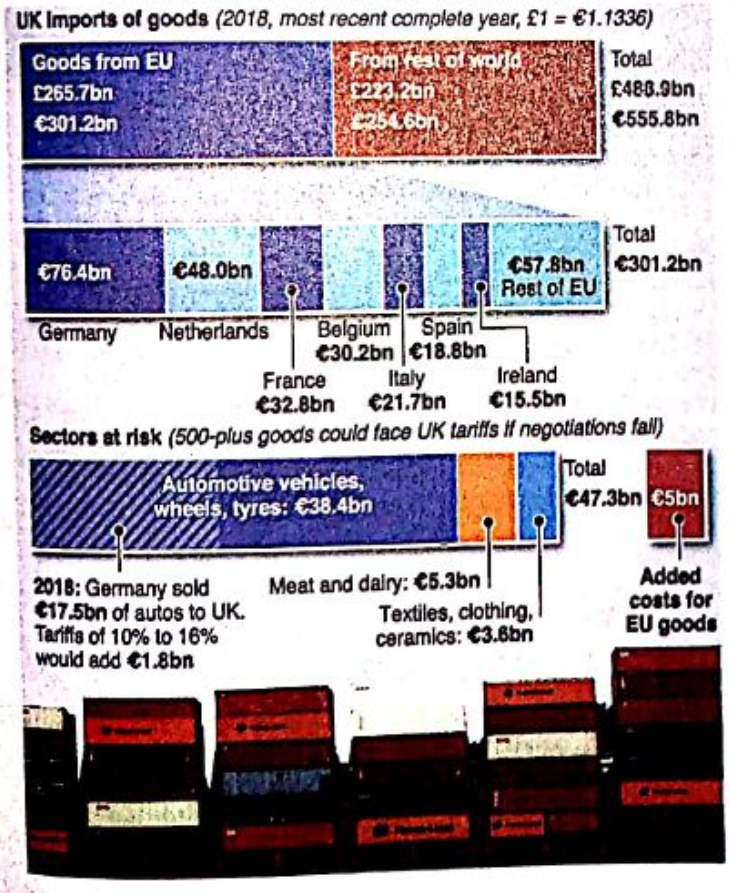

### An Age-Old Rivalry

Perhaps the greatest geopolitical consequence of Brexit is the reactivation of German-French power competition for EU leadership. The absence of the UK will allow Germany and France to rise to the occasion as mediating powers and policy leaders in the EU. However, this does not come without tension. Germany and France have historically been competitors in Europe, and as the German economy began to slow down and France sought a greater role in the EU, competition intensified. Ironically, the UK felt shut out of a French-German "romance" that dominated EU decision-making on certain issues, despite the UK not being a eurozone member (many Brexiteers cited this exclusivity as a reason to withdraw). Yet, the UK's departure demonstrates how a perceived bilateral relationship was truly trilateral before Brexit—the UK held considerable weight in balancing out French-German tensions.

France is in a slightly more advantageous position than Germany post-Brexit. Germany, already on the precipice of a recession, faces a series of financial constraints, as it is expected to step up its financial contributions to replace the UK. And because of these financial constraints, Germany must lead the charge in shrinking regional spending and slowing integration to where the budget does not exceed 1 percent of GNI. Germany sees this measure as a necessary policy, a way to smooth over wrinkles in the EU's institutional framework before deepening integration, a policy that Berlin sees as a risk for further fragmentation. The UK was Germany's ally in reigning in budgetary expansion and helped create a united front against the EU's southern bloc. However, now Germany remains the sole enforcer, earning the reputation of "bad cop" among newer, eastern EU

## Essential EU-UK trade accord

**If Britain fails to secure a trade deal after leaving the EU's customs union – which allows the circulation of goods without duties – UK tariffs could be added to more than €47 billion of EU goods**



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members that rely on these funds. France has already begun to seize on this opportunity and carve out a new leadership role, establishing itself as the "anti-expansionist, pro-integrationist" alternative to Germany. It has harnessed southern and eastern members' frustration with a hesitant, introspective Germany and has branded itself as Europe's "change-maker" through a series of ambitious, expansionary policy proposals that Paris likens to an EU "renaissance." France has led the call for quick-paced integration, deepening the relations among existing states as a way to combat disunity. France has also advocated a larger budget as an economic and social model for Europe, remedying southern members' systemic financial issues and combating rising populism that could undermine the EU. And despite Germany's calls to quicken accession, France has publicly opposed accession talks with Albania and Northern Macedonia, to Berlin's chagrin.

This inevitable tug-of-war between Paris and Berlin has already begun to play out, with France contradicting German intentions by calling for military self-reliance, undercutting Germany's bid for support of the Nord Stream II pipeline, flirting with the prospect of improving relations with Russia, and attempting to undermine Germany's negotiating status at the Berlin Conference on Libya — just to name a few. However, we should not expect any resurrection of the Maginot Line anytime soon. In the face of nationalist movements and disunity in Europe, France and Germany understand that they have to show a united front. While both powers will take advantage of this new power vacuum left by Brexit, their EU leadership statuses demand limited cooperation. It is not a happy marriage, but divorce is not in the cards.

As the UK enters its transition period with the EU, the distraction that Brexit once occupied in Europe will begin to slowly subside, giving way to the structural issues that weighed down EU unity long before Brexit. In Brexit's wake are a series of geopolitical shifts leading to the rebalancing of Europe. Lingering debates over the eurozone, the budget and spending, and expansion and integration will spark a crisis over securing European legitimacy and unity. And taking centrestage in this crisis will be the German-French balance of power, experimenting with strengthened leadership roles to mould a new EU agenda and a remodelled Europe. While 31st January marked a new chapter for the UK as a nation, it marked a new era for continental Europe.

## Brexit trade talks: to diverge or not to diverge

Boris Johnson got not one but two wins last year on Brexit: a fresh withdrawal agreement with the European Union and an election victory that gave him an 80-seat majority in parliament. But while these events matter quite a bit for Mr Johnson and his political future, they did not make much of an impact on the British economy. Mr Johnson's premiership rests on the nostalgia of Brexit; its true believers think they were better off in an imagined past, before Britain joined the European Community. They will keep backing the prime minister because he says that the trappings of that past can be restored, even without any economic benefit.

That explains why a big part of the story of Brexit is about fishing, farming and factories. Before the UK joined the common market, manufacturing employed about a third of the workforce. That figure has now shrunk to less than a tenth. Farmers and fishermen, who voted enthusiastically for Brexit, make up a tiny proportion of national income–0.6% and less than 0.1% respectively. Almost all of the rest of the Brits are working in the service sector—which takes in everything from law firms and media companies to cabs and hairdressing. Work has become more precarious, but disposable income, in real terms, is roughly double what it was before the UK entered Europe.

There are good reasons to aim to recover a bigger manufacturing base in this country and to develop a different, more sustainable agricultural base in a world of industrialised farming, but it is hard to see how such things will be achieved by failing to negotiate a trading relationship with the EU. Brexit does not occur in a vacuum: the global multilateral trading system is showing signs of stress on several fronts, notably the failure to conclude the Doha round of trade talks and a lack of progress in critical areas such as services, agricultural subsidies and digital trade. It would be better for all concerned if Brexit was a temporary glitch rather than part of the new normal.

Once Britain is out of the EU's single market and customs union, there will be winners and losers in its economy. There is a trade-off between access to EU markets and how close to its rules the Brits stick. Barriers to the movement of goods and services between Britain and the EU may not just be at the border of the single market—for example, with tariffs imposed, but also behind the border, where standards and rules of origin have to be met. If Britain were to end up in a similar position to Australia, with no deal with the EU, the Treasury has calculated that GDP would shrink by 7.7%.

Mr Johnson would be wise to take up the offer from Michel Barnier, the EU's chief Brexit negotiator, of a roadmap to a workable and durable free trade deal, which would be the central pillar of this country's partnership with the continent. It is important to note that since trade talks don't begin until March, a lot of what has been said ought to carry a health warning that politics coloured its delivery. Mr Barnier said he wanted a "robust commitment towards a level playing field, and the necessary enforcement regime" as well as long-term assurances on fishing. Mr Johnson said that he will maintain the "highest standards in these areas" and EU boats could access UK waters in a system that would be reviewed, as it is now, yearly. The gap between the UK and EU, keen-eyed observers said, was smaller than the rhetoric implied. It would be best if the divide was kept as narrow as possible.



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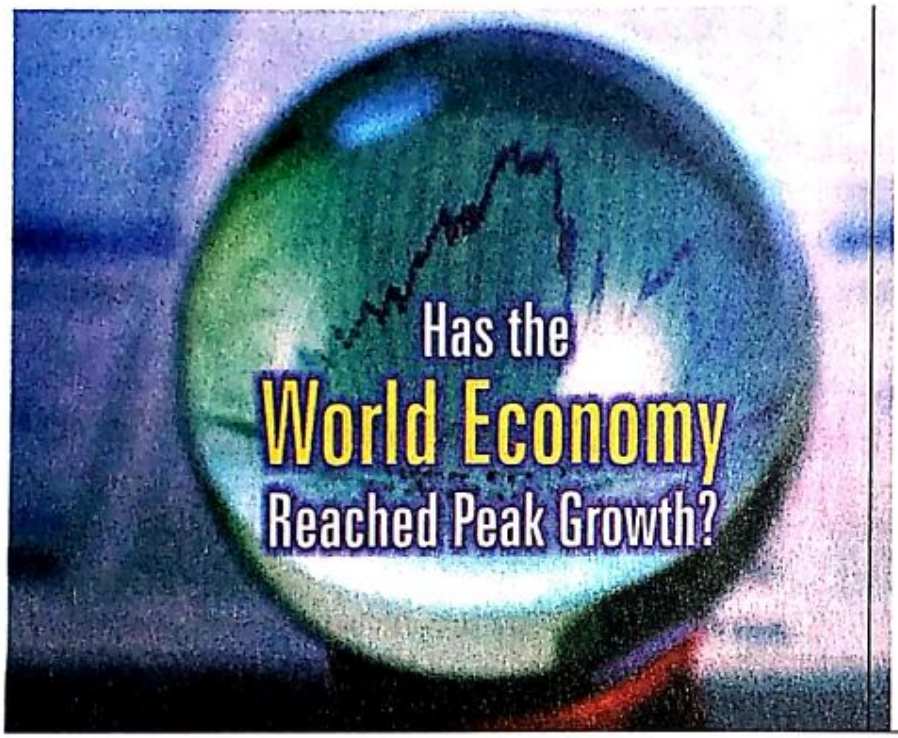
Jim O'Neill

# Has the World Economy Reached Peak Growth?



The last decade has been a sharp rebuke to the idea of a more integrated, and increasingly frictionless, global economy. Borders, nationalism, tariffs, and even trade wars are back in fashion. Global growth weakened considerably in 2019 as trade wars and weakening growth in China negatively impacted growth. In many parts of the world, the manufacturing sectors were either in recession or close to recession territory. In response, many central banks began to loosen monetary policy—rather than tighten as had been expected a year ago—with some countries (notably China and the United States) providing additional stimulus as well. This situation raises a pertinent question: has the world economy reached peak growth?

Whether or not the 2010s were a "lost decade," one thing is clear: many countries fell short of their potential, possibly squandering their last best shot of registering strong GDP growth. In the decade ahead, demographic realities will catch up to China and the West, and the world will need a productivity miracle to offset the effects.

At the start of a new decade, many commentators are understandably focused on the health of the global economy. GDP growth this decade most likely will be lower than that during the teens, barring a notable improvement in productivity in the West and China, or a sustained acceleration in India and the largest African economies.

Until we have final fourth-quarter data for 2019, we won't be able to calculate global GDP growth for the 2010–2019 decade. Still, it is likely to be around 3.5% per year, which is similar to the growth rate for the 2000s, and higher than the 3.3% growth of the 1980s and 1990s. That slightly stronger performance over the past two decades is due almost entirely to China, with India playing a modestly expanding role.

Average annual growth of 3.5% for 2010–2019 means that many countries fell short of their potential. In principle, global GDP could have increased by more than 4%, judging by the two key drivers of growth: the size of the workforce and productivity. In fact, the 2010s could have been the strongest decade of the first half of this century. But it didn't turn out that way. The European Union endured a disappointing period of weakness, and Brazil and Russia each grew by much less than in the previous decade.

The prospects for the coming decades are not as strong. China's labour-force growth is now peaking, and the populations of Japan, Germany, Italy and other key countries are aging, and are in decline. True, some countries and regions that underperformed in the teens could now catch up; but much will depend on the realization of several positive developments. For example, given the EU's demographics, it would take a significant improvement in productivity to boost the rate of GDP growth. More expansionary fiscal policies in many countries—including, possibly, Germany—could produce a temporary acceleration this year and perhaps through 2021. But it is hard to see how a stimulus-driven expansion could be sustained much beyond that point. Europeans can talk all they want about "structural reform." But without effective productivity-enhancing measures, the EU's growth potential will remain in decline. As for Brazil and Russia, it would be highly disappointing if both countries were to register the same weak growth of the past decade. Yet, to get from around 1% annual growth to 3.5–4% annual growth would probably require another commodity-price boom, in addition to major productivity enhancements. Given that both countries tend to eschew reform whenever commodity prices are booming—a classic symptom of the "commodities curse"—it is doubtful that either will reach its potential this decade (though, if one had to bet, Brazil has a better chance than Russia).

In China, a further deceleration in GDP growth is highly likely, owing to demographic realities. When I offered my earlier assessment of the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) at the start of this century, it was already clear that by



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the end of the 2010s, China would be feeling the growth-constraining effects of a peaking workforce. Accordingly, I estimated that its real (inflation-adjusted) annual GDP growth in the 2020s would be around 4.5–5.5%. To achieve growth above that range would require a significant increase in productivity. In the light of China's investments in technology and shift to more domestic consumption, productivity certainly could improve. But whether that will be enough to overcome China's other well-known challenges remains to be seen.

For its part, the United Kingdom could achieve stronger growth this decade, but it could also suffer a slowdown, depending on how it deals with Brexit and its aftermath. In any case, the country's influence on global GDP is likely to be modest. Then there is the United States, where annual growth potential appears to be just over 2%. Without more fiscal stimulus and an indefinite continuation of ultra-easy monetary policies, it is difficult to see how the US could exceed this rate. Moreover, it has been more than a decade since the US experienced a recession. Were that to happen in the months or years ahead, the US would have an even smaller chance of reaching its growth potential for the 2020s. Last but not least are the still-smaller economies with enormous growth potential. While countries such as Indonesia (and perhaps Mexico and Turkey) are becoming more relevant in an assessment of global GDP, it is India that promises to have the largest influence in the 2020s and beyond. The country's demographics will remain in an economic sweet spot for at least another decade. Were the Indian government to adopt the right mix of growth-enhancing reforms, it could easily achieve annual growth in the range of 8–10%. And, because India is already close to being the world's fifth-largest economy, that would have a significant influence on global GDP growth. The problem, of course, is that the current government has shown no indication that it will pursue positive reforms. On the contrary, it has launched a debilitating new culture war.

That leaves Africa. As matters stand, no African economy is large enough to influence global GDP on its own. But, as a region, Africa's GDP is close to that of India, which means that if enough of its major economies can achieve strong growth, the effects will be felt more broadly. The rise of Africa seems both desirable and inevitable to me. Whether the continent can drive global GDP growth will be a key question for the coming decade.

## Trends in global economy in 2020

**1. The US economy will grow at trend – around 2%**

The trend, or potential, growth in the US economy is expected to be around 2%. Real GDP growth was above trend from 2017 to 2019 thanks to fiscal stimulus. However, with the effects of this stimulus wearing off, growth is returning to trend. Some special factors will boost GDP growth over the first half of 2020; the "phase one" trade deal with China will also help a little. Consumer spending—roughly 70% of the economy—will increase about 2.7%, putting a floor on growth in the broader economy. On a calendar-year basis, real GDP is expected to expand 2.1% next year.

**2. China's growth rate will fall below 6%**

An aging population and a sharp drop-off in productivity growth mean that potential growth in China is lower now than a decade ago, and is set to fall further. Since the global financial crisis of 2008-10, China's debt as a percentage of GDP has surged to about 260%—mostly due to a corporate borrowing binge and more recently an increase in household mortgage borrowing—tying the hands of policymakers. Attempts to deleverage the economy by curbing the role of shadow banks have only been partially successful and have come at the expense of growth. Policymakers are currently engaged in a balancing act: they would like to cut the debt ratio (or at least keep it from rising), while providing enough stimulus to keep growth from falling too fast. It is predicted that China's growth rate will slide even further, to 5.7%, in 2020.

**3. Europe's economy will stabilize, then recover slightly**

The slump in eurozone growth in 2019 was alarming, nevertheless, there are some signs that the worst may be over. While the "hard" data are giving mixed signals (weakness in the business sectors versus sustained growth in consumer spending), the "soft" data are showing early signs of an inflection point. In particular, the IHS Markit manufacturing PMIs for the eurozone have picked up a little—although service-sector PMIs have weakened. IHS Markit expects eurozone growth to stabilize at around 0.9% in 2020, before picking up a little in 2021.

Meanwhile the results of the UK election suggest that while the worst of the Brexit uncertainty may be over, there is still a hard slog ahead, with growth dropping to 0.5% in 2020, before recovering slightly in 2021.

**4. Japan's faltering growth will be cushioned by more stimulus**

Japan's real GDP growth rate accelerated to an estimated 1.1% in 2019. However, fourth-quarter growth is expected to turn negative as a result of the increased sales tax at the beginning of October. In response to the weakness driven by the sales tax hike, along with the drag from trade and super Typhoon Hagibis, the Abe government announced a larger-than-expected $120 billion, 15-month fiscal package—the first since 2016 and the largest since 2012.

The money, intended to upgrade infrastructure, invest in new technologies and repair typhoon damage, will neutralize much of the negative effects of the sales tax hike. Consequently, after falling to 0.3% in 2020, Japan's real GDP growth is projected to recover in 2021.

**5. Emerging markets will continue to tread water, as debt reaches new peaks**

The past decade has not been kind to the emerging world, as growth has fallen from an average 7.3% in 2010 to 4.2% in 2019. While the long slide in China's growth rate has been a key factor, emerging markets also faced two other stiff headwinds: lacklustre expansions in the developed world and falling commodity prices.

Recoveries in the developed world are predicted to remain fragile in the next few years, while commodity prices are expected to slide, at least in the near term. These, along with the simmering trade war and the continued decline in China's rate of expansion, mean that there is very little scope for growth in the emerging world to rise much—if at all—from current low rates. More local concerns, such as riots in Latin America and faltering growth in India are also worrisome.



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**The march of technological innovation has long boosted economic performance, improved efficiency, accelerated the pace of globalization, and transformed human society in the process. But as the defining issue of our time, the digital revolution demands renewed policy cooperation at all levels of governance. After all, the latest wave of technological change is especially broad, and it is coming fast. It is fundamentally altering how goods, services and ideas are exchanged. And as rapidly declining costs make digital technologies even more affordable and accessible, they will continue to transform people's lives and livelihoods.**

# Developing Countries Must Seize the Tech Frontier

Magazine Desk

And yet, there is a danger that these gains will not reach the world's poorest people. An estimated three billion people could still lack internet access by 2023, and many more will have little or no opportunity to reap the benefits of digital technologies. That means there can be no delay in addressing the problem of digital exclusion.

Developing countries can harness the new wave of frontier technologies for the benefit of all. Digital technologies have unlocked new routes to prosperity through agriculture, manufacturing, trade in services, the linking of informal and formal sectors, and domestic interconnectivity. Low- and middle-income countries around the world now have an opportunity to build new industries, deliver better services and improve peoples' lives.

But digital technologies can also entrench existing forms of exclusion, disrupt livelihoods and provide new tools for the powerful to abuse and exploit the weak. Developing countries, in particular, are starting from a difficult position, because they are already grappling with the challenges of low human capital, ineffective institutions and a difficult business environment. Still, policymakers must not allow themselves to be paralysed in the face of change. Rather than becoming passive observers of the tech revolution, they must take control of their countries' economic futures.

All developing countries and emerging economies should be able to capture at least some of the new opportunities on offer. Governments have several policy options for achieving more inclusive growth. But technology alone will not guarantee success. Policymakers must also account for local contexts and conditions, so that they can create social, political and economic ecosystems in which technology creates jobs and drives inclusive growth.

To compete globally, all countries will need to prepare themselves for new and upcoming technologies, by maximising inclusiveness and guiding markets toward the right types of innovation. Governments should start by recognising that the challenge is not just about "digital policy." Rather, it calls for a "whole of economy"—indeed, a "most of society"—approach. And because inclusion is the key to success, support for marginalised groups will need to be built into the policy process from the outset.

To that end, national governments should start planning for digital readiness in four areas: infrastructure, human capital, policy and regulation, and finance. These are the technical pillars of the future economy.

At the same time, regional-level policymakers—particularly in the Asia-Pacific region—need to start building momentum on policy cooperation, which will be necessary for harnessing frontier technologies for the greater good. Likewise, at the global level, cross-border issues associated with frontier technologies will need to be addressed multilaterally. That means multilateral organisations themselves should be developing an antenna for identifying new technological and development challenges. It is already clear that more must be done to mitigate technological disruptions to employment, boost investment in human capital, and ensure fair taxation in the new digital economy.

As is usually the case, the challenge we face is also an opportunity. Digital and frontier technologies have enormous potential to improve government administration and the delivery of public services. It is time for a new kind of conversation, one that involves governments, business leaders, innovators, civil-society organizations and citizens alike. For developing countries, the task is clear: we must ride the wave of technological change, rather than wait for it to crash down on us.

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# BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

## THE MOST LETHAL WAY OF FIGHTING

**Owing to the present-day armed conflicts, the general public is well aware of the terrifying effects of chemical weapons. Meanwhile, the effects of biological weapons have largely disappeared from public awareness. Following the spread of the coronavirus in China and other countries, many analysts contend that this virus and others, such as the SARS and swine flu viruses, were deliberately created and spread by the US in order to make a profit by selling vaccines against these diseases. Some even argue that the virus was part of an economic and psychological war waged by the United States against China with the aim of weakening it and presenting it as a backward country and a source of diseases. In this write-up, the writer explores the notion of corona virus as a tool of biological warfare.**

Abdul Rasool syed

Corona virus has sent chills down the spine of the populace across the globe. It is the most lethal type of virus which, despite untiring efforts of China's biological scientists, still remains incurable, and an uncontrollable epidemic. Conspiracy theorists have now started advancing their self-concocted theories regarding the germination and spread of this devastating pandemic. One of such theories is that corona virus is not a natural phenomenon but rather a manmade biological weapon, incubated and choreographed by the adversaries of China to emaciate its military and economic muscle. It may be a conspiracy theory, nonetheless, the veracity of this argument needs to be established and should not, therefore, be repudiated outright. However, it is an undeniable fact that bio-weapons have been used extensively in wars in order to subject the rival forces to a humongous human catastrophe.

> "It is almost certain that at some time in the future we will experience a terrorist attack with biological weapons." —Frank Young (Former Commissioner of the US Food and Drug Administration)

Biological warfare, also known as 'germ warfare', involves the use of toxins or infectious agents that are biological in origin. This includes bacteria, viruses and fungi. These biological agents are used to incapacitate or kill humans, animals or plants as part of a war tactic.

In simple words, biological warfare involves the use of non-human life to disrupt – or end – human life. Because living organisms can be unpredictable and incredibly resilient, they are difficult to control, potentially devastating on a global scale, and prohibited globally under numerous treaties.



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The war chronicles are replete with myriad events in which bio-weapons were used to debilitate the adverse army. The use of biological agents is as old as hills. Attempts to use biological-warfare agents date back to antiquity. Its maiden manifestation was seen when Scythian archers infected their arrows by dipping them in decomposing bodies or in blood mixed with manure as far back as 400 BC. Persian, Greek and Roman literature from 300 BC quotes examples of dead animals employed to contaminate wells and other sources of water. Further, in the Battle of Eurymedon in 190 BC, Hannibal won a naval victory over King Eumenes II of Pergamon by firing earthen vessels full of venomous snakes into the enemy ships.

During the battle of Tortona in the 12th century AD, Barbarossa used the bodies of dead and decomposing soldiers to poison wells. To add, during the siege of Kaffa in the 14th century AD, the assailant Tatar contingent hurled plague – infected corpses into the city in an attempt to cause an epidemic within enemy forces. This lethal exercise was repeated in 1710, when the Russians, besieging Swedish forces at Reval in Estonia, catapulted dead bodies of people infected with plague.

Additionally, during the French and Indian wars in the 18th century AD, British forces under the patronage and command of Sir Jeffrey Amherst provided the Native Americans with blankets that had been used by small pox victims in a bid to spread the disease.

Furthermore, allegations were also made during the American Civil War by both sides, but especially against the Confederate Army, of the attempted use of smallpox to cause disease among enemy forces.

In 1900, biological warfare became more sophisticated and advanced. During World War I, the German Army developed anthrax, glanders, cholera and a wheat fungus specifically designed to be used as biological weapons. They allegedly spread plague in St. Petersburg, Russia, infected mules with glanders in Mesopotamia, and attempted to do the same with the horses of the French Cavalry.

However, in order to discourage the practice of using biological agents in war, the Geneva Protocol of 1925 was signed by 108 nations. This was the first multilateral agreement that extended prohibition of chemical agents to biological agents. Unfortunately, no method for verification of compliance was addressed. Therefore, spread of the use of biological agents in the wars could not be halted.

Hence, during World War II, Japanese forces operated a secret biological warfare research facility (Unit 731) in Manchuria that carried out human experiments on prisoners. They exposed more than 3,000 victims to plague, anthrax, syphilis, and other agents in an attempt to develop and observe the disease. Some victims were executed or died of their infections. Autopsies were also performed for greater understanding of the effects of these viruses on the human body.

In 1942, the United States formed the War Research Service. Anthrax and botulinum toxin initially were investigated for their use in wars as weapons. Sufficient quantities of botulinum toxin and anthrax were stockpiled by June 1944 to allow unlimited retaliation if the German forces first used biological agents. The British also tested anthrax bombs on Gruinard Island off the northwest coast of Scotland in 1942 and 1943 and then prepared and stockpiled anthrax-laced cattle cakes for the same reason.

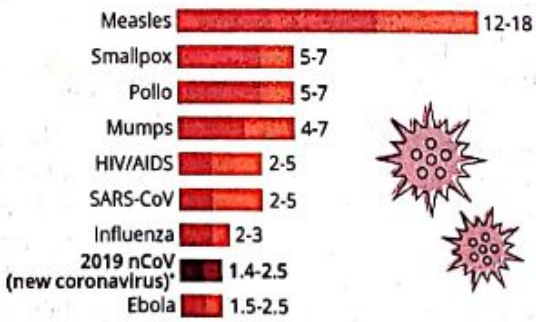
The United States continued research on various offensive biological weapons during the 1950s and 1960s. From 1951-1954, harmless organisms were released off both coasts of the United States to demonstrate the vulnerability of American cities to biological attacks. This weakness was tested again in 1966 when a test substance was released in the New York City subway

### What are Biological Weapons?

According to World Health Organization (WHO), "Biological weapons are microorganisms like virus, bacteria, fungi, or other toxins that are produced and released deliberately to cause disease and death in humans, animals or plants. Biological agents, like anthrax, botulinum toxin and plague can pose a difficult public health challenge causing large numbers of deaths in a short amount of time while being difficult to contain. Bioterrorism attacks could also result in an epidemic, for example if Ebola or Lassa viruses were used as the biological agents. Biological weapons is a subset of a larger class of weapons referred to as weapons of mass destruction, which also includes chemical, nuclear and radiological weapons. The use of biological agents is a serious problem, and the risk of using these agents in a bioterrorist attack is increasing."

## How Contagious is the Coronavirus?

Average number of people infected by an individual with the following*



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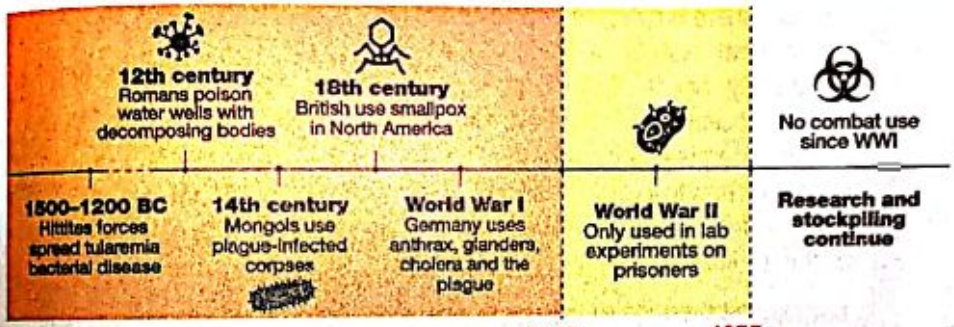
system.
Besides, during the Vietnam War, Viet Cong guerrillas used needle-sharp punji sticks dipped in faeces to cause severe infections after an enemy soldier had been stabbed.
Moreover, in 1979, an accidental release of anthrax from a weapons facility in Sverdlovsk, USSR, killed at least 66 people. The Russian government claimed these deaths were due to infected meat and maintained this position until 1992, when Russian President Boris Yeltsin finally admitted to the accident.
In September and October of 1984, as many as 751 people were intentionally infected with salmonella, an agent that causes food poisoning, when followers of the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh contaminated restaurant salad bars in Oregon.
In 1985, Iraq began an offensive biological weapons program producing anthrax, botulinum toxin, and aflatoxin. During Operation Desert Storm, the coalition of allied forces faced the threat of chemical and biological agents.
Besides, following the Persian Gulf War, Iraq disclosed that it had bombs, Scud missiles, 122-mm rockets, and artillery shells armed with botulinum toxin, anthrax and aflatoxin. They also had spray tanks fitted to aircraft that could distribute agents over a specific target.
In 1994, a Japanese sect of the Aum Shinrikyo cult attempted an aerosolized (sprayed into the air) release of anthrax from the tops of buildings in Tokyo and in 1995, two members of a Minnesota militia group were convicted of possession of ricin, which they had produced themselves for use in retaliation against local government officials.
Furthermore, in 2001, anthrax was delivered by mail to US media and government offices. There were about five deaths as a result. Further, in December 2002, six terrorist suspects were arrested in Manchester, England; their apartment was serving as a "ricin laboratory." Among them was a 27-year-old chemist who was producing the toxin.
Later, on Jan. 5, 2003, British police raided two residences around London and found traces of ricin, which led to an investigation of a possible Chechen separatist plan to attack the Russian embassy with the toxin. To add, on Feb. 3, 2004, three US Senate office buildings were closed after the toxin ricin was found in a mailroom.
In the light of preceding facts and figures, it becomes quite evident that biological warfare is more lethal than conventional war for once it started becomes, unrestrained, undetectable and all-pervasive.
Inter alia, biological warfare has also engendered the fear of bioterrorism. According to biological scientists and war affairs luminaries, non-state actors (terrorists) can also resort to the use of bio agents to further their interests since this type of weaponry is relatively cheaper as well as more devastating than conventional armaments.
While highlighting such scenario, a renowned American a professor of biological sciences and applied physics at Stanford remarks that biological weapons are "the poor man's atom bomb." If rogue politicians or terrorists were to get hold of the bio-weapons, "the consequences could be disastrous," he warns. He further adds that conventional biological agents —including anthrax, ebola and typhus—plus an unknown number of genetically-engineered organisms, if acquired by the terrorists, could unleash a colossal destruction on the world.
He further contends that "the time to act is now before disaster strikes. We should not have to wait for the biological equivalent of Hiroshima to rally our defences."
To sum it up, corona virus may or may not be bio-weapon but we must unite and raise voice against the use of bio-weapons in wars since it is the question of not only our survival but also of our posterity. Finally, let me quote famous lines of John F. Kennedy who once remarked: "Mankind must put an end to war before war puts an end to mankind".

## Biological weapons

**Biological toxins were historically employed in warfare until their use was banned.**


12th century
Romans poison water wells with decomposing bodies
18th century
British use smallpox in North America
No combat use since WWI
1500–1200 BC
Hittites forces spread tularemia bacterial disease
14th century
Mongols use plague-infected corpses
World War I
Germany uses anthrax, glanders, cholera and the plague
World War II
Only used in lab experiments on prisoners
Research and stockpiling continue
1925
Geneva Protocol prohibits use
1975
Biological Weapons Convention bans use, development & production

*The writer is a legal practitioner-cum-columnist based in Quetta.*



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# Modernization and Development

## An Analysis of the Main Factors

Zafrullah Saroya

There are various definitions of modernization and development but mainly it refers to deep changes in human thinking, behaviour, mentality and way of social and political life. When a society is modernized, it will experience many psychological, social, cultural, economic and political changes. In other words, when we talk about modernization, it means there are some old and traditional things or systems which no longer work or function properly; therefore, there is a need to replace them with a new system tailored to fulfil modern-day needs. Based on this, when a society is modernized, the human energies are coherently focused on how to exploit the social and natural environment for reaching human purposes.

The main features of a modernized society include: having independent government, high level of urban life, high level of literacy, high level of human motivation, high level of industrialization, high level of educational services for all, high level of freedom of expression and high level of democratization. In addition to these, social justice is another component which is considered one of the main features of a modernized society. Social justice has three main indicators including: equality in distribution of wealth, equality against law and equality in distributing opportunities.

In comparing the modernized society to traditional society, there are several main differences between the two of them. In modern society, social interactions and recruitment are based on specialism, but in traditional society, social dealings are based on nepotism. Modern societies are highly independent but traditional societies are highly dependent. Traditional societies act or react on the basis of traditional values such as nepotism; tribe, tradition, language, etc., but modernized society act or react on the basis of rationalism. In modernized society, there is a high level of money circulation in the market, but in traditional societies there is no culture of trusting financial institutions and banks and so money is kept as cash in the personal wallet. In modern society, there is mutual relationship between cities and villages, but in traditional society, there is only unilateral flow of goods and so the villages are always underdeveloped.

There are various ideas among thinkers over the factors of modernization in a society. According to Maccalaland, a famous modernization thinker, one of the most important factors of modernization is human motivation. Based on his ideas, we need to seriously invest in human capital and cultivate the motives of advancement among the work force, especially the high ranking managers. Thus, he believes that the parents can play key roles in motivation of children through having good behaviour and encouragement. For example, the parents should expect their children excel others and accordingly try to support them. The parents must not be autocrat and they must try to pave the way for their participation in daily family decision-making processes.

According to Ankles, another thinker of modernization, modernization needs modern human. As he describes, modern human is the one who is ready for accepting changes and is willing to new experiences and methods. Secondly, the modern human is independent, not under control of parents, elders, rich people, politicians or government. It means freedom is an important precondition for



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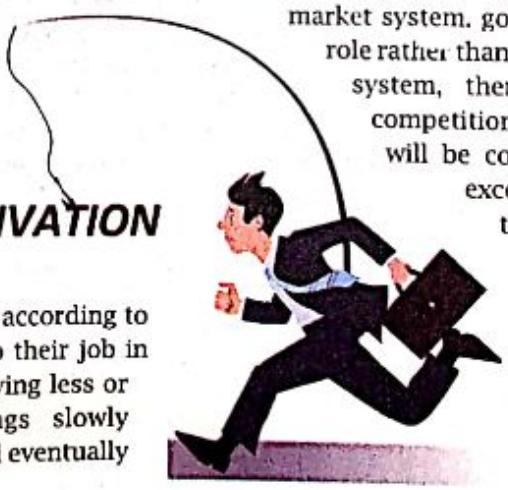
creativity and advancement. Thirdly, modern human is the one who believes in getting knowledge. Fourthly, modern human is motivated and ambitious. Fifthly, modern human uses planning skills and always has short-term plan, midterm plan and long-term plan. A modern human always knows what he is going to do in the next five years. Based on Ankles's theory, education and work environment are considered central preconditions for promoting all these features in building modern human.

led to the today's development. In Japanese culture, laziness is a big shame while working hard, being thrifty and showing proficiency are considered great pride to his family.

Thus, research shows a serious link between democratization and development. It means, the more economically developed, the more chances to be successful in democratization. Economic welfare can promote the standard of literacy, education and public media and eventually pave the way for meaningful political participation. Most of the public dissatisfactions are rooted in scarcity of economic resources, but if a country has a good economic capacity, the hands of political leaders are open to satisfy all the citizens. Therefore, the level of public satisfaction is high in wealthy countries. Moreover, the people are more independent in rich countries rather than poor countries and so their political participation will be more meaningful and effective.

Similarly, a powerful free market can play effective role in decentralization process in a country. It can also facilitate the people to monitor and limit the power as there are numerous tools to be used for such purposes. In free market system. government has more monitoring role rather than operational role. In free market system, there will be more creativities, competition and productions. Most often, it will be controlled by the invisible hand except few cases which are beyond the ability of individuals and free markets. Overall, in free market system, the government will be small, but society will be big and more active.

Based on Bella, religion can also play positive role in modernization. After carrying out some researches on Japanese religion, he concluded that TokoKawa religion alike Protestantism had positive impact on Japanese modernization and development. His finding shows three features in Japanese religion which played positive role in Japan including: hard work, frugality and legality of profit. Moreover, according to Japanese religion, the workers should do their job in best possible quality, regardless of receiving less or more salary. These religious teachings slowly changed to a national culture in Japan and eventually



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# Trade wars are huge threats to food security

**International trade has proven to be a critical mechanism for growth and development. It helps build stronger value chains, mitigate conflict and provides access to higher quality and quantities of goods and services.**

Dr Mukhisa Kituyi

International trade has provided consumers with access to a more diversified and nutritious food basket. However, for trade to improve food security to the greatest number of people across the globe, greater international cooperation is necessary.

More than 820 million people—equivalent to more than 10.0 percent of the world's population—were hungry and about 2 billion people experienced food insecurity in 2018.

This challenge exists in the context of a global population that is projected to grow from the current 7.7 billion to 8.5 billion in 2030 and rise to 9.7 billion in 2050.

The majority of those facing hunger and food insecurity live in developing countries. These countries, including many least developed countries (LDCs), depend critically on the agricultural sector for employment, production and exports.

For instance, 57.0 percent of the labour force in LDCs was employed in agriculture in 2019, compared with only 3.0 percent in high-income countries. Within developing countries, poverty is higher in rural areas and the rural poor depend on agriculture.

Small-holders in developing countries face challenges that preclude them from benefitting fairly from global value chains.

Enhanced international and national measures on transparency and regulation are needed to ensure incomes arising from agriculture value chains are fairly shared by all actors.

We also need improved market access and risk management tools for small-holder farmers, including for female farmers, to expand opportunities and reduce income volatility.

The international agricultural trading system needs to become less distorted, more inclusive and sustainable, as well as take the specific needs of developing countries into account.

The high volume of agricultural subsidies given to producers in developed countries must be reduced. For instance, OECD countries provided US$315 billion worth of support and protection for their agricultural producers in 2017.

Instead of improving fair and transparent market access, growing anti-globalisation sentiments and moves towards protectionism threaten to undermine the substantial benefits of global trade, particularly for food systems and nutrition.

The collapse of agriculture negotiations has tremendously limited the scope for the use of trade for development and developing countries' optimism about the potential of agricultural trade as a vehicle out of poverty is eroding.

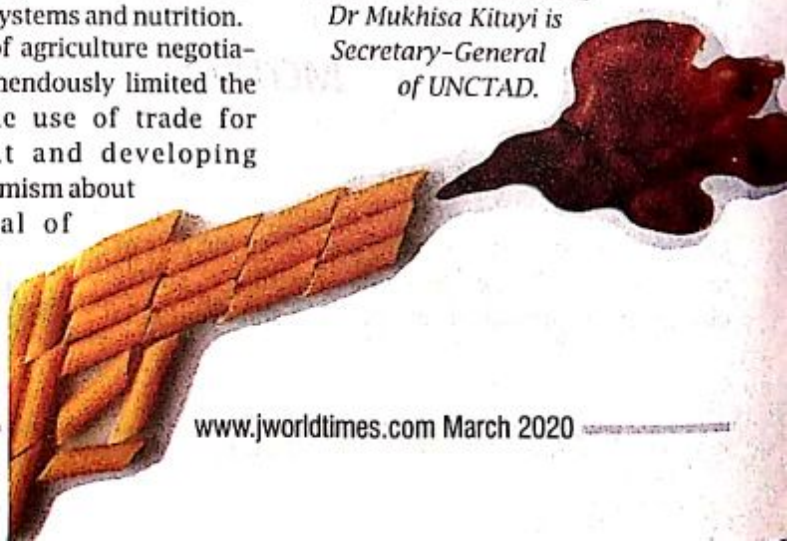
Adequate multilateral trade negotiations would have led to substantial gains for both developing and developed countries, including increased global production of food and industrial goods, better trade infrastructure, more efficient customs procedures, lower tariff protection, and reduced production- and trade-distorting domestic support policies.

Trade agreements on agriculture also go far beyond food security—the special and differential treatment called for by developing countries on agriculture are a key requirement for them to continue to want to support the global trading regime in all sectors.

The proliferation of non-tariff measures needs to be addressed and the costs of compliance with them brought down to ensure poorer countries benefit from market access for their agricultural products.

The role of trade in reducing hunger and ensuring food security must be prioritised. To do so, we must enhance international cooperation on a multilateral scale.

*Dr Mukhisa Kituyi is Secretary-General of UNCTAD.*





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# President Erdoğan's Visit to Pakistan

## Long Live Pakistan-Turkey Brotherhood!

Aftab Abbasi

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan reached Islamabad on February 13 on a two-day official visit, becoming the first foreign head of a state to visit Pakistan in 2020. This special visit saw the president joined by a high-profile delegation. The two countries also signed a number of bilateral agreements nd memoranda of understanding (MoU) to boost ooperation in various fields. Both countries signed 13 foUs. Ranging from tourism to security, the MoUs also nclude the cooperation between Pakistan state-owned TV, Radio Pakistan and Turkey's state broadcaster urkish Radio and Television (TRT).

**ddress to the parliament**

ddressing a joint session of the Pakistani parliament for record fourth time, the Turkish president minced no ords vowing to support Pakistan on Kashmir and FATF s well as on its fight against terrorism, hunger and poverty. After speaking at length on the historic relations between Pakistan and Turkey, the visiting president spoke his heart out on Kashmir issue. He pointed out how the Muslims of the Subcontinent had backed Turkey during the Gallipoli campaign, also known as the Battle of Canakkale, in 1915 during World War I, pointing out a rally held in Lahore led by Allama Iqbal. He also pledged to continue his unflinching support for Islamabad's stance on Kashmir, comparing it to Turkey's own historic 1915 Gallipoli campaign and going as far as saying that the plight of the people of the Indian-occupied territory meant as much to his country as it did to Pakistan as the two countries signed a string of pacts to strengthen ties in various fields. He likened the Kashmir freedom struggle to the Khilafat Movement and said the feelings of Turkish people for Kashmir were the same as those of the Muslims of the Subcontinent had for the Khilafat Movement.

Quoting a poem by Iqbal, which he said the great poet had

On 13th of February, President of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, reached Islamabad on a two-day visit to attend the sixth meeting of the High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council. The visit came at a testing time for both countries and it, indeed, speaks to the durable nature of the relationship. Although Turkey and Pakistan have always had a particularly close relationship, Erdogan's sparked a different kind of excitement among Pakistanis as the nation considers him a great leader of the Muslim Ummah and also follows his statements and actions very closely. This visit was not an ordinary one, as is evident from the fact that he was accompanied by members of his cabinet, senior government officials and top business figures. That President Erdogan did take up a visit to Pakistan despite Prime Minister Imran Khan failing to keep his commitment to attend the December 2019 Kuala Lumpur Summit—pretty understandably on the wishes of its other 'friendly' countries in the region—shows that the Pak-Turk relationship is beginning to grow into a serious engagement, and cannot be deterred by a diplomatic hiccup or two.

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read out loud at the Lahore rally, the Turkish president said: Like the poet of Lahore [Iqbal], the people [at the rally] were drowning in these emotions. The people of Pakistan have always stood shoulder to shoulder with the people of Turkey."

Elaborating on the incident, Erdogan said while Turkish soldiers were defending the Dardanelles Strait with a glorious resistance in 1915, a rally took place in Lahore 6,000 kilometres from the front and it was "recorded on the unforgettable pages of history".

"The theme of this historical rally in Lahore Square was Canakkale. On that day, Lahore Square was jam-packed with Muslims as we were struggling to survive and our brothers and sisters here [Subcontinent] were also under pressure of the colonialists. Despite challenges and threats, they raised a huge charity for Canakkale through the exhibitions in the square."

**The dynamics of Pak-Turkey Relations**

Historically speaking, the bonds of Pak-Turkey ties are rooted in firm and entrenched friendship at the official and people-to-people levels. Both Pakistan and Turkey, along

with Iran, were the original members of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) established in 1964 which later on transformed into the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1985. Turkey stood with Pakistan in times of need, particularly during the 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pak wars, and Islamabad has always rendered Ankara meaningful support on the Cyprus issue.

Pak-Turkey relations in contemporary era can be analysed from economic, trade, political and security perspectives.

During his visit to Ankara in January 2019, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, in his meeting with Turkish investors and businessmen, expressed satisfaction over growing Turkish investments in Pakistan; stressed the need for transforming the brotherly bilateral ties into a vibrant economic partnership; and assured that his government would provide all facilities in this regard.

Around 20 leading Turkish investors and businessmen, who have ongoing projects in Pakistan, participated in the first

## 'Two Countries, One Nation'

### Views of a Turkish Journalist

Hilal Kaplan

We are in Pakistan, one of the few countries that deserve the label of a brotherly and friendly country. President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan arrived in the capital Islamabad with a broad delegation, including six ministers for the 6th High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council meeting.

For miles along the road from the airport to the hotel where the president was going to stay, we were greeted with large photographs of Erdoğan and smaller photographs of Pakistan's prime minister and Erdoğan side by side, captioned by placards with a bilingual slogan, "Two countries, one nation."

Turkey-Pakistan relations were slightly strained last December when Prime Minister Imran Khan withdrew at the last minute from the Kuala Lumpur summit, which was held in Malaysia with the participation of Turkey, Qatar and Iran. However, pointing to Saudi Arabia, the main perpetrator, rather than Pakistan, President Erdoğan said: "Unfortunately, we see Saudi Arabia putting pressure on Pakistan. Now, there are promises they have made to Pakistan about the central bank. But above all, 4 million Pakistanis work in Saudi Arabia. They say, 'We will send them back and take the Bangladeshis instead,' and so on. On the other hand, Pakistan, which has major economic troubles, had to take a different stance on the issues about the central bank, facing threats such as 'We will withdraw money'."

Khan went to Malaysia first in an attempt to mend the relations, promising to attend the next summit. In an interview with Anadolu Agency a few days ago, he conveyed warm messages, saying: "Pakistan is grateful to President Erdoğan for the solidarity with Kashmir that he showed in his speech at the United Nations." In addition, Pakistan's Foreign Ministry said in a note issued ahead of the visit that they were on Turkey's side on the Cyprus issue.

On the other hand, as far as Kashmir is concerned, Pakistan has really been left alone. India's invasion in violation of international law, its attempt to rule the population of 8 million with 900,000 soldiers, and its punitive policies, such as the curfew that has been in force for six months now and mass arrests, have not received reactions from the world.

The visit is expected to lead to steps to boost trade volume between the two countries, develop various projects from energy to transportation and boost military cooperation.

Turkey has a special place in the heart of the Pakistani nation, the grandchildren of ancestors who sent their gold to support the national struggle or who rebelled in the British Army from Iraq to Singapore to avoid firing a bullet at Ottoman troops. In return, Pakistan has a special place in the heart of the Turkish nation, which continues to honour this history of brotherhood.



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meeting organised by the Turkey-Pakistan Business Council of the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEIK).

Furthermore, during his visit, Prime Minister Imran Khan and Turkish President Erdogan discussed measures to boost economic ties between the two countries.

In an article entitled, "Turkish-Pakistani relations: A burgeoning alliance?" by Philip Kowalski and published by the Middle East Institute, Washington DC, on May 22, 2019, the author maintained that, "By 2017, Turkish investment in Pakistan surpassed $1 billion, and Turkey has continued to pursue projects there, such as the export of its Metro Bus rapid transit system. A proposed free trade agreement (FTA) between the two countries, still in the works, projects that bilateral trade will increase from $900 million to $10 billion by 2022.

Pakistan and Turkey also helped each other in times of natural disasters. The scope of promoting Pak-Turkey trade, commercial ties along with tourism will certainly be a major area of discussion during the visit of Turkish President to Pakistan.

Political relations between Pakistan and Turkey are on a strong footing. Pakistan supported the regime of Tayyip Erdogan when in 2016 there was an attempted coup to dislodge his government, and during the subsequent phase.

Turkey has wholeheartedly supported Pakistan's stance when India annulled special status of its occupied territory of Jammu & Kashmir.

Pak-Turkey defence relations are deep rooted. For instance, in 2009, the High Level Cooperation Council was established between the countries and then upgraded to High Level Strategic Cooperation Council. Several meetings of the Council were held, and more than 60 agreements and documents have been signed so far within this mechanism. Another deal, worth $80 million, was signed between Pakistan's government and a Turkish contractor in 2013 for the construction of a tanker for Pakistani Navy.

In 2015, Turkey and Pakistan also agreed to cooperate in development and production of tactical unmanned aerial vehicles. In 2016, TAI agreed to modernise the Pakistan Air Force's fleet of F-16s at a cost of $75 million.

Turkey is one of the key participants in Pakistan's International Defence Exhibition and Seminar (IDEAS) held in Karachi and companies from both sides always show interest in each other's products.

The current visit of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Pakistan provided a valuable opportunity for the two countries to examine and revitalise their age-old friendship and their role in regional and international affairs for peace.

**Lesson from Turkish Economic Miracle**

In the Muslim world, rarely has a country transformed economically and politically in such a short time to pose competition to the European countries. There are a lot of debates on Erdogan's style of governance as there were on the authoritarian styles of Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir Mohammad who ruled their countries for decades. The fact of the matter is that what they achieved is no mean accomplishment. What we as a country need is to look at its positive side and emulate those areas where we are facing challenges that Turkey faced decades ago. The two areas where Pakistan needs to focus is economic and human development. Let us look at what Turkey did and what Pakistan can do to accelerate development in the country.

Pakistan's present government is facing the dilemma of the debt trap that has been accumulated to $100 billion by successive governments. Turkey had similar issues but on



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a smaller scale as the population and size of the countries differ. Since 1961, Turkey had taken 19 IMF loans, Pakistan has taken about 18. Erdogan inherited an IMF debt of $23.5 billion in 2003, which was reduced to $0.9 billion in 2012. During Erdogan's leadership, inflation fell from 32% to 9.0% in 2006. Since then, Turkish inflation has continued to fluctuate around 9% and is still one of the highest inflation rates in region. The Turkish public debt as a percentage of annual GDP declined from 74% in 2002 to 39% in 2009. Thus the lessons to learn is that economy and debt are manageable and will take from three to nine years if persistent reforms are made.

Human development became a priority for Turkey from the first day. Erdogan increased the budget of the Ministry of Education in 9 years from 7.5 billion lira in 2002 to 34 billion lira in 2011, the highest share of the national budget given to one ministry which became higher than military allocations. Compulsory education was increased from eight years to twelve. In 2003, the Turkish government, together with UNICEF, started a campaign called "Come on girls, let's go to school." The goal of this campaign was to close the gender-gap in primary school enrollment through the provision of a quality basic education for all girls, especially in southeast Turkey. For Pakistan, the challenge is not just budget and gender gap but quality gap. Public and madressah schools have produced mushrooms of unfit, left behind school kids and graduates who struggle to get jobs or compete with the private school education elites. The government needs to focus for the next five years on levelling the standard of education in the public and private education.

After assuming power in 2003, Erdogan's government initiated a comprehensive reform programme of the Turkish healthcare system, called the Health Transformation Programme (HTP), to enhance the quality of healthcare and protect all citizens from financial risks. As part of the reforms, the "Green Card" programme, which provides health benefits to the poor, was expanded in 2004. The reform programme aimed at increasing the ratio of private to state-run healthcare, which, along with long queues in state-run hospitals, resulted in the rise of private medical care in Turkey, forcing state-run hospitals to compete by raising quality. Pakistan has introduced Sehat Insaf Card to the poor primarily. This card when first introduced in KP during the 2013-2018 term was very successful in providing quality healthcare to the people below poverty line and then to the rest of the population. However, this facility alone will not improve public hospital conditions. Tough reforms like the MTI act (medical teaching institution) needs to be passed to create accountability of health care professionals in public hospitals.

If Pakistan needs to learn from the Turkish model it must focus on the following:

**1. Generate more revenues to invest in social and economic development:** The economy is already reeling under inflation and more taxes on common man will not solve the problem. Similarly, more debt will just create more dependence. What Turkey did was to sell off its state enterprises to create fiscal space. Pakistan has a list of companies it needs to privatise. This process needs to be expedited to firstly stop putting scarce budget money into bleeding organizations and secondly by selling them to generate the much needed revenue.

**2. Boosting SMEs:** Turkey made sure that a lot of incentives were given to the small and medium enterprises to boost business and job creation. 80% of businesses in Pakistan are SMEs. Kamyab Jawaan Program should ensure not just doling out loans but enterprise capacity building to enable the small and medium businesses to sustain and grow.

**3. Increase traveller traffic:** Like Dubai, Turkey has created reasons for people to visit Turkey. By developing Turkish Airlines as the largest network, Turkey has competed with Dubai for traveller traffic. PIA may not be anywhere near such extensive growth but the principle of getting more people to visit stands true. Tourism in Pakistan is already picking up. More ease of travelling facilities by removing unnecessary paperwork and security checks will make the country more accessible.

Not all that has happened in Turkey is worthy of emulation and there are lessons in that as well. What is worth noticing is that in a period between 2002 and 2011, Turkey turned around from being a struggling country to a case study of development in the Muslim world. The other lesson is that any growth that is debt-based will be short term as has been witnessed in the last ten years in Pakistan. Growth based on pruning of bleeding enterprises and promotion of small and medium enterprises is where the secret of sustainable development lies.



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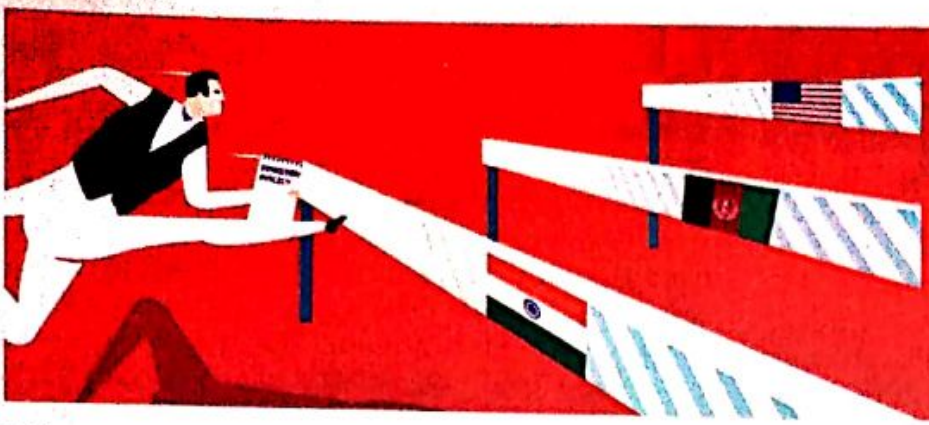

China and Pakistan are all-weather strategic partners. The two countries are forging a community with a shared future in which China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) will play a major role. The CPEC is a major pilot project of the China-proposed Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Yet the speed of construction of the CPEC has been slowing down recently for which there are three main reasons.

# How to Overcome Hurdles to CPEC?

M. Ali

First, Pakistan is hobbled by a high fiscal and current account deficit, a large foreign debt and a resulting heavy debt repayment burden. Its ability to provide support funds for CPEC has lost to a great extent, and there is large financial pressure to expand infrastructure construction. IMF loans come with conditions and Pakistan will not be able to provide a large budget for the CPEC project while meeting these conditions.

Second, after Prime Minister Imran Khan came to power, his government further adjusted the original blueprint of the CPEC, focusing more on economic and social development, industrial parks and agricultural cooperation.

Finally, the impact of international factors plays a vital role. Due to economic and financial pressure, Pakistan needs to seek IMF loans. At the same time, it hopes that the construction of CPEC will be truly multilateral, with Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and other countries participating. The Pakistani government and think tanks are concerned about the current regional geopolitical situation, especially the geopolitical competition between China and the United States. The Indo-Pacific Strategy adopted by the US, coordinated by Japan, India and Australia, is containing and hedging the BRI. CPEC is hence affected.

In the last few years, obstacles in the construction of CPEC can be seen in three aspects.

To begin with, the largest difficulty has to do with Pakistan's domestic politics. Owing to China's non-interference, the problem can only be solved by Pakistanis themselves.

Moreover, some Pakistanis believe that as long as their country provides land and China invests funds, all development problems can be solved. It is normal to hope to share the development dividend of cooperation, but it will take time for the economic benefits to accrue. Chinese investment also needs Pakistan's supporting facilities, including industrial park planning, water, electricity, gas, road, investment policies, tax policies, land policies and reforms of other laws and regulations. The promotion of CPEC needs the cooperation of officials and the public from both sides.

Last but not least, the power of geopolitical and security factors should not be underestimated. A peaceful and stable surrounding environment is needed to develop the economy. With the change in geopolitical situation as the CPEC progresses, external forces have become a challenge. The Afghan peace process also has a significant impact on the progress of CPEC constructions. In essence, CPEC is in need of a synergy between Chinese and Pakistani development strategies.

In the context of the complex and delicate situation in South Asia, the geopolitical influence is likely to be magnified. However, both sides should have a clear understanding of this and should not overstate the geostrategic value of the CPEC. Both China and Pakistan need to strengthen the exchange of ideas on development and governance. Central and local governments, and the military from both sides should improve exchanges. Think tanks should play an important role in this regard. Personnel communication and training are also important.

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# POLICE REFORMS VS. POLICING REFORMS

Kamran Adil

Police reforms are inward-looking and focus on the organizational aspects of police. For example, an axiomatic question is the constitutionality of police organizations, i.e. whether they operate under the federal or the provincial legal power. Needless to state that the constitutionality debate in Pakistan is much bipolar in its purport, and more often than not, it is assumed to be division of functions between the federation and the provinces, which is partially true as concurrent arrangement is very much supported by the black letter of the constitution. Due to the legal power to use force and affect coercion, all stakeholders try to control police. The device used for this purpose is apparently benign and is seldom fully examined. This device is the power to appoint and remove police officers. This power shapes the governance of a police organization and may ultimately result in regulatory capture of that. In addition, based on the functions of a police organization, its functional classification very much becomes a subject of police reforms. A survey of the literature on police reforms in Pakistan since 1947 underlines the fact that, predominantly, 'organization' of police has been its centrepiece. The approach was not appropriate as the police leadership wanted to break free from the shackles of colonial rule book that had arrested the organizational potential and had put it into a tight corner.

However, this all started to change as the police reforms culminated into a package that was introduced through the Police Order, 2002. The 2002 version of the police reforms package provided the much-needed 'thinking space' for policy choices vis-à-vis governance of law and order in Pakistan. Before the introduction of the concept of an independent, apolitical, autonomous and professional police organization in 2002, the governance of law and order was premised on executive using judicial powers through the office of the District Magistrate. Anyhow, afterwards, the Police Order, 2002, was partially implemented. The Order provided for protection of police officers' tenure. This protection was fortified by removal processes that were institutional insofar as these were based on the principle of collective decision-making that were to be carried out by the public safety commissions comprising elected representatives. The reforms were intended to strengthen the police organizations

**Pedagogically, police and policing are two distinct concepts. The word 'police' refers to an organization whereas policing is the function of governance. Both, it may be noted, operate within the larger context of the criminal justice system, which, in turn, is a subset of the justice system of Pakistan. The discourse related to police reforms, therefore, must be contextualized and its direction must be steered towards the intended goal of service delivery. Generally, police reforms are used as a byword for policing reforms. These reforms, which remain central to many policy formulations, are quintessentially focused on police organization. The instant iteration is discursive in nature and will try to examine the differences between the two sets of reforms in Pakistan.**

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by squaring authority with responsibility, and in doing so, designing a system wherein the police chiefs were to exercise powers of provincial secretaries to oversee financial and disciplinary independence; the design was regrettably not allowed to work and the primacy of law was upended by delegated legislative machinations. Police reforms agenda got a constitutional challenge after the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment that tried to redefine not only the governance of law and order, but also the constitutionality of criminal law, in general.

In contradistinction to police reforms, the policing reforms, as stated above, relate to policing function that is essentially outward and deals with service delivery aspects of policing. Policing reforms have got little attention from policymakers in Pakistan. A case in point is the law relating to registration of criminal cases. Not much has been done to study and reform it. Likewise, the protocols for investigation have not been fully developed. The compliance to human rights standards in police working has been left as a voluntary affair by not introducing consequences for non-compliance. The Code of Criminal Procedure that deals with policing powers was drafted in 1898. While India redrafted its criminal procedure code that deals with policing powers in 1974, Pakistan has yet to amend it in a holistic manner. Policing reforms affect the working of all investigation agencies including the National Accountability Bureau (NAB), the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), the Anti-Narcotics Force (ANF), the provincial food and drug authorities and the magistrates dealing with hoarding, price control, encroachments and other entities authorized under the local and special laws. Policing reforms need serious attention as they would shape the way policing services are delivered. The laws relating to use of force, bail, remand, surety bonds, witness protection, safeguards against powers to arrest, search, seize, impound, block identity cards and recovery-related provisions, where coercive powers of the state are to be used, form its central theme. The very ethos of institution building of the law-enforcement organizations' working and trust in the criminal justice system depend on policing reforms. Many a legislative instrument opted to refer to policing powers by way of allusion to the colonial-era Code of Criminal Procedure without evaluating its operability with modern substantive law concepts.

At the end, it may be stated that while police reforms deal with the proverbial '*nizam-deen*' (manager), policing reforms deal with the very system, i.e. '*nizam*'. The very thinking towards the reform discourse needs to be redefined. In addition, the role of federation in criminal matters must be examined as the present propensity and practice is that the criminal law is being provincialized resulting in territorial law-enforcement with the control in the hands of the provinces. Statecraft for internal security has to be developed in a manner that the constitutional scheme is adhered to in letter and spirit.

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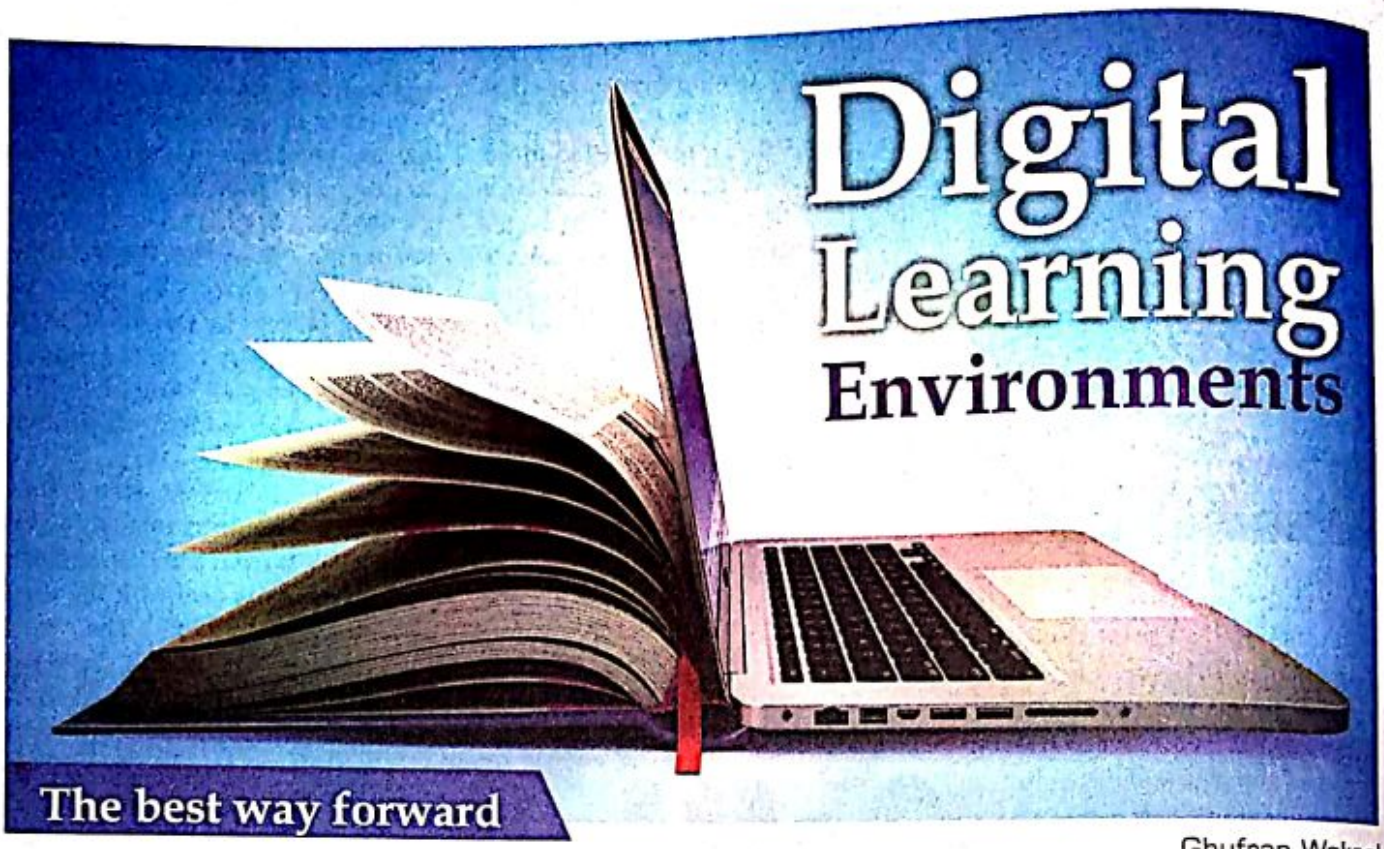

# Digital Learning Environments

## The best way forward

Ghufran Wakeel

The advancement in information communication technology has made it feasible to bring the price of computers in the range of ordinary people. On the other hand, availability of the Internet has connected the people and computers anywhere in the world. In the last few years, people's use of various digital technologies, be it computers, smart phones and even virtual reality, has increased significantly both at home and in the workplace. We Are Social and Hootsuite's latest collection of Global Digital 2019 report suggests that there are 4.39 billion internet users in 2019, an increase of 366 million (9 percent) versus January 2018. This whopping increase in numbers reveals that the world today is highly interconnected, fast-paced and technology-savvy. Using digital learning environments in teaching may, therefore, seem a logical step in the evolution of education systems, since computers, smartphones and other appliances are so widely used in society, especially by young people. New platforms and technologies are helping stakeholders get better outcomes — even with fewer financial resources.

The discussion of incorporating more technology-based learning environments into teaching is a hot topic worldwide. The European Commission, for example, has an Action Plan with 11 actions to support technology-use and digital competence development in education. For schools, these include improving internet connectivity and increasing awareness on cyber security, as well as addressing the gender gap in digital and entrepreneurial skills.

It is inevitable that learning in digital environments will increase in the future, and the hope is that this should ensure that pupils will also become more digitally competent. This is, no doubt, the thinking behind reforms in education systems such as Finland that seek to replace a focus on learning to write by developing children's

There can be no question that Pakistan today is in dire need of change; and that need for change lies in our educational system. In order to achieve equity in education, excellent learning and teaching, professional development of teaching staff and an efficient education system, it is essential that we find ways to incorporate Information and Communication Technology (ICT) into our teaching methodologies and classrooms. The digital world provides immense connectivity, networking and learning opportunities for students, youth and teaching professionals. It also helps impart knowledge to children living in far-flung areas of the country. These technologies can also facilitate to attract and educate out-of-school children in minimal cost per student. The new teaching technologies can replace the costly books while the children with classroom-phobia can be attracted to education through cartoon clips, animated lessons and colourful graphics and musical rhymes composed in regional languages. We need to think out-of-the-box practices to increase literacy in Pakistan.

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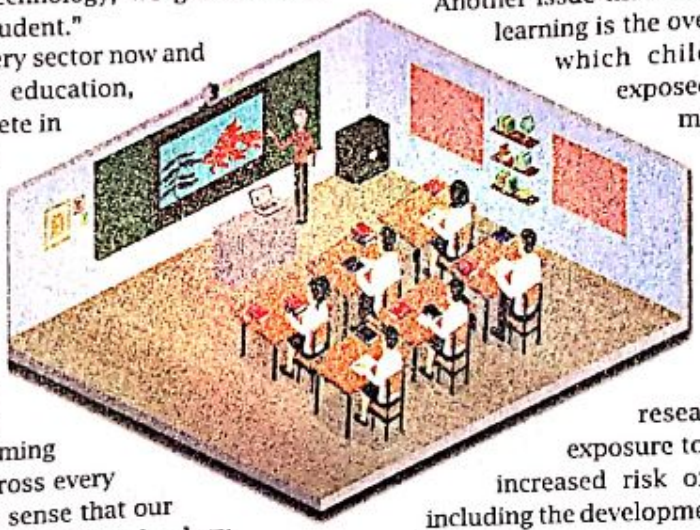
keyboard skills.

With the world changing so rapidly and the rise of technology in every aspect of life, it is important that Pakistan also integrates these changes in education. Traditional classroom teaching may sometimes seem incompatible with today's information society – not least by pupils who may wonder why they should be forced to put down their smartphones and pick up a book. According to a research by International Journal of Cognitive Research in Science, Engineering and Education "The period from 1967 to 1972 is considered a period of consolidation of educational technology, which has become the most commonly used term in the science of pedagogy and the educational process. With the application of educational technology, students can independently progress in mastering teaching materials, to choose the pace of work, to repeat the material that is not sufficiently clear, that after tests are performed they can immediately get results and track their progress. Interactive, multimedia content provides a great advantage of modern learning over traditional learning. With the application of educational technology, we get feedback between the teacher and the student."

Technology is prevalent in every sector now and it is equally important for education, especially if we want to compete in the global world. Whether we like it or not, technology is everywhere; and in order for our students to survive in post-secondary education and the business world, they must know how to use technology to their best advantage. With mobile and other wireless devices becoming an increasing requirement across every industry today, it only makes sense that our schools also effectively deploy mobile technology in the classroom.



Integrating technology in education helps students stay engaged. Most students today have been using mobile devices like tablets and smartphones to play and learn since they start to crawl. Therefore, it seems logical to align today's classrooms with the way young students want and are used to learning.

The presence of educational technology is growing in the classroom. The new generation of children come ready to work with these new technologies, which play an important role in their learning and acquiring various cognitive knowledge, so educational technology must be incorporated into future curricula. The application of educational technology enhances skills and cognitive characteristics. With the help of new technology comes an explosion of learning and receiving new information, especially on mobile devices. However, the question of whether teachers are trained to keep up with them still remains.

While it is often said that young people are well versed in new technology, and would thus be motivated to use it for learning, there is evidence from international comparative surveys and tests that digital natives are not necessarily always digitally competent.

But what does this imply for more traditional learning and teaching methods? Will pen and paper become as obsolete as rubbing two sticks together to make fire?

Learning "analogically" with pen and paper has benefits that we may not want to abandon. Research shows that our brains seem to be wired to retain information more easily if we write things down, because we need to process the information while writing with a pen. This seems to help learning and retention of information, while typing notes on a computer is a more "brainless" activity. Moreover, a meta-study has shown that reading on paper rather than on screen improves students' text comprehension. And even in Finland itself, preliminary results from a study point to the fact that using new digital teaching methods do not necessarily lead to better academic performance.

Another issue that needs to be considered in digital learning is the overall amount of screen time to which children and adolescents are exposed. Some studies show that too much time online can have adverse psychological effects. However, other research findings suggest that the negative impact of too much screen time may be exaggerated, at least in the case of adolescents. In younger children, however, research evidence confirms that exposure to screens is associated with an increased risk of developmental problems – including the development of memory, attention-span and language.

Given the evidence available, it would be wise to focus discussion on the potential added value of digital technologies in learning – and not to consider the development of digital learning environments as a goal in itself. An intelligently designed teaching framework can certainly take into account the opportunities that such technology offers for more innovative and effective teaching. But we should be careful not to throw out the baby with the bathwater. What matters is the quality of learning rather than the methods we develop for teaching. Pen and paper may remain at least as mighty as the keyboard or touch-screen for some time to come – at least as far as effective learning is concerned.

The kinds of things which are easy to teach are also easy to automate. We need to ensure that we are teaching first-rate humans and not second-rate robots.

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Muhammad Ramzan

# Juvenile Justice System

The CRC has 41 articles covering all the aspects from social, economic, civil rights of the children to their security and rehabilitation. It includes the definition of a child describing the age of a child who has not attained the age of eighteen years. Similarly, the best interest of the child provides for fulfilment of his basic rights and needs, identity, social wellbeing, physical, emotional and psychological development. Article 4 of the CRC deals with making of arrangements by the parties to the convention for provision of necessary legal and administrative support to ensure the rights of the children.

In pursuance of articles 1, 3, 4, 39 and 40, it was mandatory for the parties to ensure and establish juvenile justice system. Pakistan has also established criminal justice system for juveniles by enacting Juvenile Justice System Act, 2018, that caters for the best interests of the child. It deals with juvenile offenders alleged to have committed or has been found to have committed offence. Under this Act, Juvenile Courts have been established exclusively dealing with juvenile accused of commission of an offence. The court is bound to decide the case within six months, extension can only be granted by the High Court of the respective province after considering the explanation placed before it for seeking extension. A juvenile accused of bailable offence shall be released on bail or otherwise be kept in Juvenile Rehabilitation Center under the supervision of a probation officer. The juvenile shall be treated as if he was accused of commission of a bailable offence.

In case of any doubt as to the age of a juvenile or in the absence of documentary evidence determining the age of such accused, the juvenile/person may be determined on the basis of a medical examination report by a medical officer. Diversion is an alternative process determining the responsibility and treatment of a juvenile on the basis of his social, cultural, economic, psychological and educational background without resorting to formal judicial proceedings; it basically meant to protect the interest of the juvenile in an effort to make him rehabilitate and integrate into the society.

Juvenile Justice Committee for each sessions division required to be established. This 4-member committee would be headed by a magistrate, while district public prosecutor, member of local bar with at least 7 years' experience and a serving probation officer as its members. This committee shall dispose of a case within one month from the date of the referral.

During the proceedings of juvenile court, no one will be present except staff, officers, parties to the case, guardian of the juvenile and such persons as the juvenile court directs. No juvenile may be charged with, and tried for, an offence

**The United Nations General Assembly adopted Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) on 20th November 1989. So far, 190 nations have ratified the Convention. It provides for social, economic and cultural rights of the children. Being signatories to this Convention, the parties are bound to abide by its articles. Pakistan ratified CRC on 12th November 1990 whereby arrangements were to be made to provide and ensure the rights of children as envisaged in CRC.**

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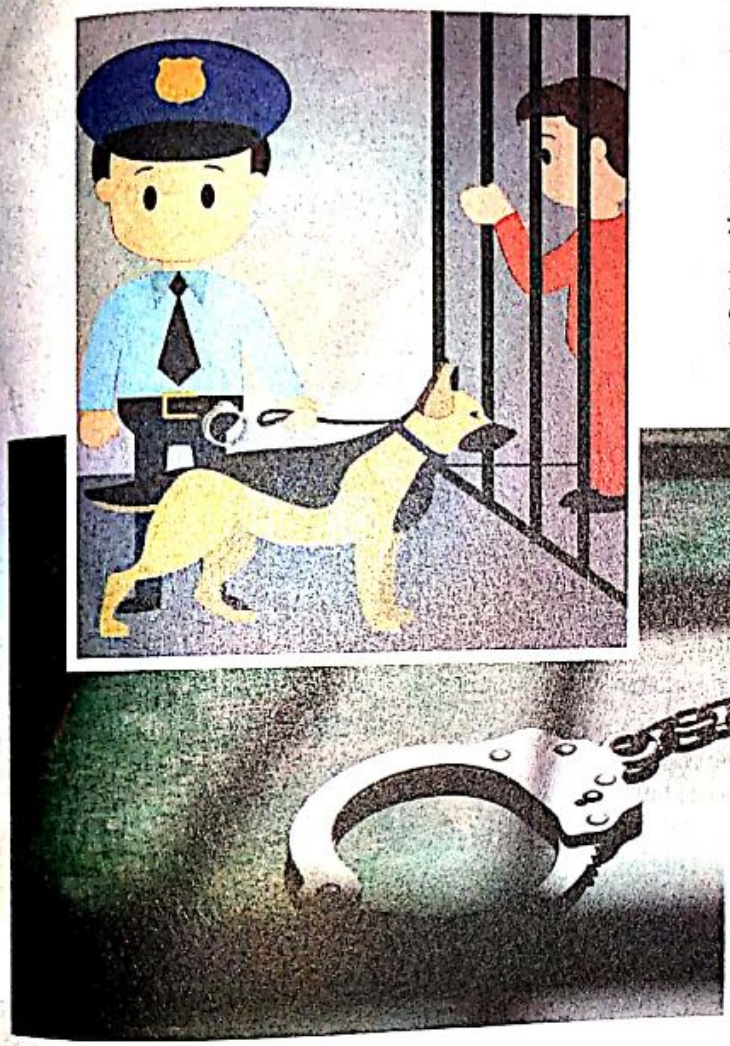
together with an adult except determined by the court. In joint trial, the court may dispose with the physical presence of the juvenile. Disclosure of identity of the juvenile is punishable for a term of 3 years with fine, except by permission of court. The report of the probation officer shall also be treated as confidential and if contents of the report are disputed by the parties, the court may give an opportunity of producing such evidence as may be relevant to the matter stated in the report of the probation officer.

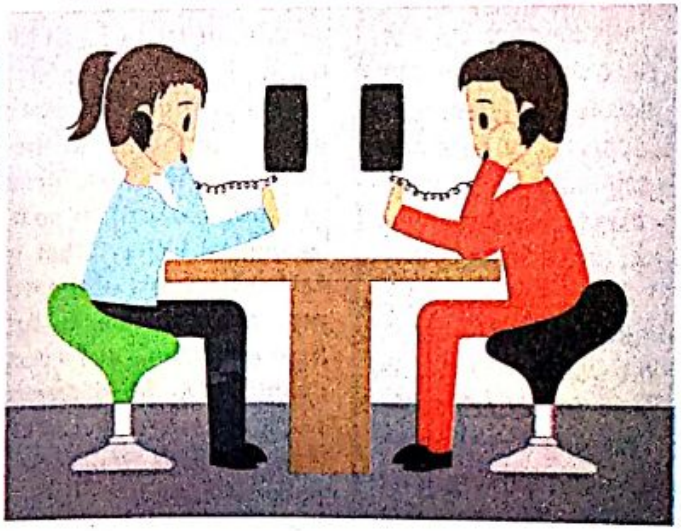


No person, who was a juvenile offender at the time of commission of an offence, shall be awarded punishment of death under the Act. No juvenile offender shall be committed to prison, ordered to labour, put in fetters, handcuffed or given any corporal punishment at any time while in custody.

Special provision in the Act has also been incorporated regarding female juveniles. It says that no female juvenile shall, in any circumstances, be apprehended and investigated by a male officer and that she shall be kept in Juvenile Rehabilitation Center established exclusively for female inmates. Appeal against the court order may be filed within 30 days by any person aggrieved by an order of acquittal passed by the juvenile court. A juvenile offender committed under the law shall not suffer a disqualification if any attaching to a conviction of an offender under such law.

Certification of observation homes and Juvenile Rehabilitation Center has also been made in the Act separately for male and female inmates. In this regard, NGO-run observation homes or a juvenile rehabilitation center may be certified by the govt and can be withdrawn if it is dissatisfied with the conditions, management, etc. of the said home/center. The inspection by the officer authorized by the government may be placed before the court or juvenile justice committee in this regard.

The juvenile justice system in Pakistan, however, is not performing up to the spirit of the Act. Limited number of courts and rehabilitation centers, besides a lack of training of the relevant staff are all contributing to the poor implementation of the Act. Particularly, awareness component is missing. Often the identity of juvenile offenders is not kept confidential and they are produced handcuffed in the courts. A serious review of the implementation and performance of the system under the Act is required on the part of government in consultation with all stakeholders. ■



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# WORLD WATER DAY 2020

## Water is the Oil of the Future

In 1992, World Environmental Conference was held in Brazil, in which it was decided that World Water Day will be celebrated every year on 22nd of March. In the last century, one of the popular political slogans was that "food, shelter and clothing" is basic right of every human being. But with the passage of time, especially due to the abnormal population growth and increased impact put by an individual on the environment, issue of clean water, air and land has also surfaced. Now people are in pursuit of safe water and air more than food and shelter – rather water itself is food. Approximately, every fourth person in the world does not have access to the safe drinking water, and the number is growing. If we take the example of Pakistan, only 25% areas of the country have access to safe water. Not only Pakistan but also the whole south Asia is facing colossal threat of water shortage.

Dr Munawar Sabir

Due to its scarcity as well as huge importance, water is considered the "oil of the future" because every human being needs food to get energy for survival. In this context, along with soil and sunshine, water is a basic ingredient of agriculture. If we don't have water, we cannot cultivate any food stuff. Similarly, even if we have got enough food to eat, water still is an essential part of our daily food intake. Food experts suggest that every individual needs around two litres of water per day.

Petroleum was discovered in the late 19th century in USA and Europe, and later in the Middle East during the decades of 1920s and 1930s. Due to the key importance of oil as an energy resource, it was named "liquid black gold". Hence discovery of oil brought paradigmatic shift in the fate of Middle East. Since there was no effort put by the people in this production of oil, so it was regarded as a 'geological lottery" that made the Middle East richest part of the world in terms of per-capita income. In future scenario, however, richness of a certain area or a country will be determined by the water resources. So countries will be categorized as "water-rich or water-poor countries".

Water is availed through rivers and rainfall. A country having enough of both is considered very lucky and gifted. Moreover, if a country does not have abundant rainfall but has a major river passing through its territory, it still can have sufficient water to use for drinking purposes and land cultivation. One such

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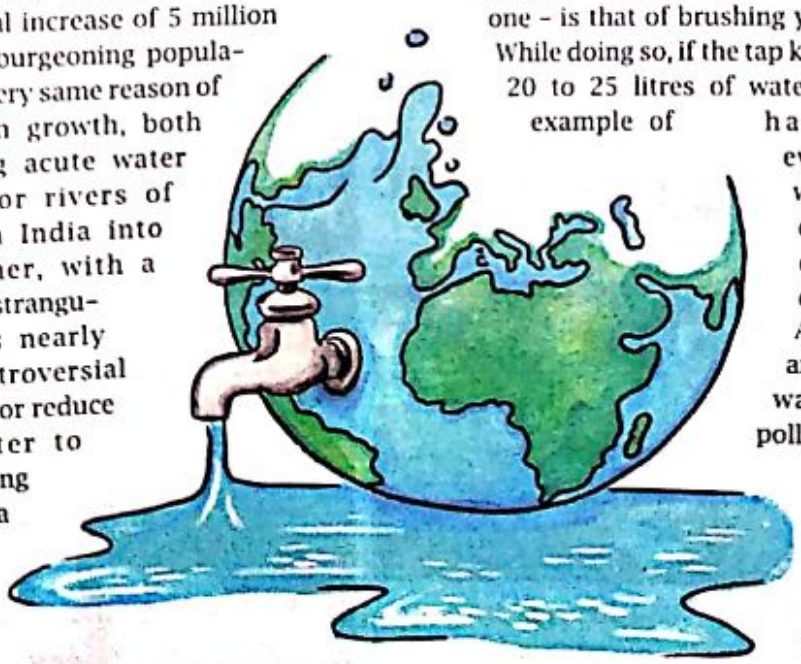
typical example is Egypt which consists of deserts but is blessed with the water of River Nile. That's why Egypt is called the 'Gift of the Nile'. Rural development due to agriculture in Egypt is only along the banks of River Nile. Prosperity of Egypt, unlike its neighbouring countries, is only due to the water of the Nile.

Experts have suggested that flow of river is a 'life line' and it is rightly so because wherever a river flows, life prospers. If we look at the big example of Pakistan, the fifth largest country by population, we find that agriculture is possible in the country mainly due to the canal irrigation system in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh. On the other hand, the province of Balochistan gives a sight of desert just because it doesn't have any major river. More so, in Faisalabad and Sargodha divisions of Punjab province, water is not suitable to drink. That's why water-borne diseases are more common in these areas. One interesting observation in these areas is of canals passing through as in the absolute vicinity of canals, water is healthy so it is pumped out and transported and sold to the households.

Everybody is well aware that one of the potential reasons of a future war between India and Pakistan is water. A major reason for shortage of water in India and Pakistan is population growth. India, with an average increase of 17 million people annually, is going to be the world's most populous country in coming 3 to 5 years. Whereas, Pakistan has become the fifth most populous country with an annual increase of 5 million people to its already burgeoning population. So, owing to the very same reason of unbridled population growth, both countries are facing acute water shortages. As major rivers of Pakistan flow from India into Pakistan, the former, with a nefarious design to strangulate the latter, has nearly completed two controversial dams in order to stop or reduce the supply of water to Pakistan - strengthening the apprehensions of a water war between the two in future.



If we analyse the importance of water in our life, we come to know that water is to us what oil is to any vehicle. Whatever we eat is mainly wheat stuff. Wheat is cultivated with the help of water. Then it is made edible with the help of water. In the end, we need water while having every meal to digest food. More so, water takes priority on food in the season of summer. So, one can easily understand that just like a vehicle cannot move without oil, any human cannot move without food and any food cannot be produced or digested without water. So, water acts like oil for humans.

Water is even more precious than oil and this can be understood by the fact that oil can be replaced by electricity, coal and solar energy but replacement of water is only water. So, we need to be always on alert regarding water resources. To do so, we need to create water sense among the masses. If we mentioned one example - apparently a small, but practically a giant one - is that of brushing your teeth in the morning. While doing so, if the tap keeps running an estimated 20 to 25 litres of water gets wasted. So is the example of having shaves. Other everyday facts regarding water sense are those of doing laundry, dishwashing and washing of vehicles.

An expert has beautifully analyzed the importance of water by resembling the pollutant, normal and healthy water with diesel oil, petrol, and hi-octane accordingly. So, be careful in your life what you are drinking, what are you drinking?

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Mairaj ul Hamid Nasri

# 40 YEARS OF AFGHAN REFUGEES

## Predicaments and policy options for Pakistan

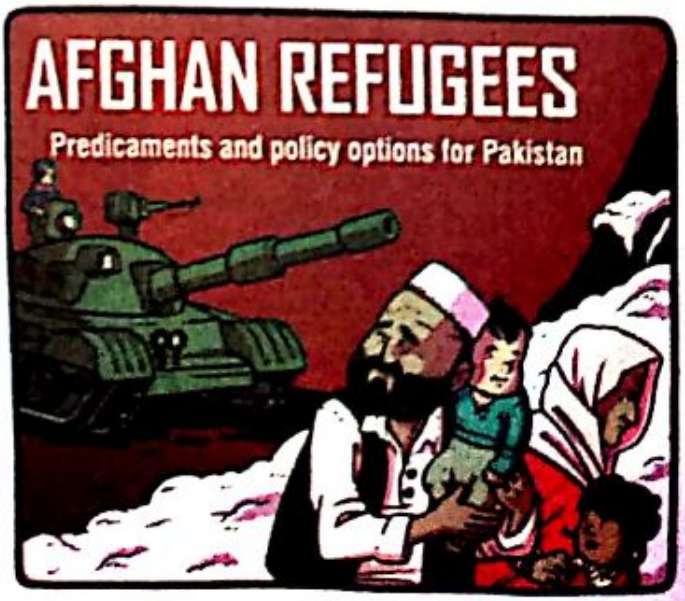
Islamic Republic of Pakistan has completed 40 years of hosting Afghan brothers and sisters, with open arms, grateful hearts, smiling faces and tolerant minds, with minimal international support. They have been here since 1979 when the USSR invaded Afghanistan and compelled needy Afghans to take shelter in their second home, that is, Pakistan. In this connection, United Nations Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, recently visited Pakistan and generously lauded Islamabad's efforts for hosting Afghans with outstanding generosity. Although Pakistan has been hosting the Afghan refugees for the last four decades, Afghanistan, which is suffering from insecurity, instability, fragility and economic bankruptcy since decades, also seems unable to absorb the repatriated refugees from Pakistan, Iran and other countries.

Apart from humanitarian aspect, Afghan refugees in Pakistan are an asset as well as a liability for the country. Public opinion in Pakistan on Afghan refugees' long stay in Pakistan is divided along the axis of asset-liability, though this approach towards looking at the issue is deplored by many who cite humanitarian dimension of this conundrum. The sensitivity and importance of the issue necessitates that thorough discussions and careful decisions are made as miscommunication and hasty steps could waste the entire sacrifices Pakistan has been rendering for the last 40 years. Notwithstanding the debate and the numerous handicaps constraining the spectrum of possibilities for the return of Afghan refugees, there is a general consensus in Pakistan that the question will persist until there is internal security and better governance in Afghanistan. The anticipated improvement comes with a necessary stipulation of withdrawal of foreign forces and capacity building of the Afghan government to effectively govern the country's territory, especially after the re-election of Dr Ashraf Ghani and the US-Taliban peace talks.

It is pertinent to mention here that international funding for Afghan refugees in Pakistan has been minimal ever since their entry into Pakistan. Refugees, who previously were the victims of communist aggression, were dumped, and with meager resources at hand, Pakistan was left to fend for itself amidst the perpetual outpour of refugees. Today, there are some voices that argue for the deportation of Afghan refugees but this will result only in hatred and ill-will among Afghans towards Pakistan even after enjoying 40-year-long hospitality in this country.

The matrices of asset-liability and humanitarianism, however, don't neatly fit themselves with certain groups because the opinions are divided and the analytics of refugee issue usually takes place in isolation to draw easy conclusions from a particular strategic perspective. For instance, the onus of introducing the drugs and Kalashnikov culture is often put on Afghan refugees. Moreover, their persistent presence on the Pakistani soil is held responsible for depletion of growth opportunities available to local labour and traders. The argument, however, becomes sympathetic and accommodative as soon as the humanitarian aspect takes precedence.

Another major perspective discusses the issue in the confines of Muslim brotherhood and has remained sympathetic towards the 'Afghan guests' despite the ensuing complications. The strategic community is more likely to view it as Pakistan's investment in Afghans despite the fact that this viewpoint seems to have been exploited against Pakistan and might have contributed to strategic fallouts in Afghanistan and ethnic tensions within Pakistan alongside the possibly related outcomes for the national security. An easy demarcation and the attribution of the narratives to specific groups is, however, utterly implausible. Taking cue from the overall agreement in Pakistani society



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that Afghan refugees would continue as part of their communities, it feels pertinent to eschew the economic reductionism for the time being and to attempt articulating other facets of the issue.

The strain in the economic, social and cultural fabric of Pakistan caused by the prolonged presence of 2.4 million registered (and numerous non-registered) refugees necessitates that the ideal target should be their respectful repatriation to their homeland. Nevertheless, the limited capacity of Afghan government and the indifference on the part of international community should be factored in for any plan of refugee resettlement in Afghanistan. Creating 'pull factors' in Afghanistan by the Afghan government and its sponsors, instead of 'push factors' in Pakistan, ought to be a guideline for policymakers in Islamabad. The only possible facilitation Pakistan can offer is data collection and sharing, which is presently in a dilapidated state. The 'push factors', on the other hand, would exponentially increase the harassment and forced deportations due to the inexorable disfiguration of governance directives by the authorities on ground. In the light of this insight, it must be mentioned that there is also a considerable agreement that the deportation, if necessary, should be as amicable as possible, and the officials should not be subjected to heavy-handed measures.

Considering these well-entrenched problems, the first course of action should be an efficient and sustained programme of data collection without which the confusions surrounding the presence and legality of Afghans in Pakistan will only perpetuate. Moreover, it is important to not consign the refugee rehabilitation programme, in whichever country, to the ordinary bureaucratic tools of graphs, numbers and charts. A well-trained bevy of officials should consider the matter in its entirety and diversity; with an eye sensitive to perceive the schisms of religion, ethnicity, gender, age, sect and other social markers.

The foremost conclusive judgement which we can derive here is the fact that since it is not likely in the foreseeable future to catch a glimpse of foreign troops leaving Afghanistan, improvement in security situation, fruitful conclusion of the peace process, Pakistan should brace itself for a long haul as far as the phenomenon of repatriation is concerned. The spillover of refugees will continue and the border areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan will be chaotic and incomprehensible for the policymakers. This would culminate in a situation where Afghan refugees are present in Pakistan and, quite possibly, are part of the future of Pakistan. It is, therefore, recommended that the endless process of churning out deadlines should cease.

The issue, in fact, is multi-faceted and has got strategic, humanitarian, social, cultural and political underpinnings. A simple solution would, therefore, not be advisable. Humanitarian dimension of the issue should never lose sight in devising the way forward. A calculated decision would require reliably correct, if not accurate, data. Knowing the whole picture and its dynamics through data would be possible through meaningful coordination and synergy between concerned government agencies, international organizations and other stakeholders. Targets of repatriation should be phased and implemented accordingly while ensuring the dignity of the refugees. Unregistered refugees should be facilitated to register, and given a deadline. On lapse of such deadline, they should either be deported or forced to register as refugees after a brief detention, and dealt as such.

It must be realized that perceptions are extremely important and they require prudent management at all levels. Pakistan needs to capitalize on its image of hosting a large population of refugee on its own. Reports of harassment and exploitation of refugees and subjecting them to rigorous legal procedures should be effectively and visibly checked and dealt with.

To conclude, it can rightly be stated that, Afghan refugees in Pakistan should be taught and trained in a way that they prepare to return to their homeland Afghanistan and act as ambassadors of peace between the two countries. Moreover, it is very easy to blame Pakistan for pushing Afghans back without recourse of its four-decade-long hospitality and immense problems related to Afghan refugees in Pakistan, the real point that asks for a focus is the failure on the part of Afghanistan and global partners in creating an enabling environment for Afghans to return to their homeland.

**POPULATION OF CONCERN**

| Country of origin | Total persons of concern |
|---|---|
| Afghan refugees with proof of registration (PoR) cards | 1,416,078 |
| Afghan mandate refugees (without PoR cards) | 3,006 |
| Somalia (refugees) | 181 |
| Others (refugees) | 341 |
| Asylum-seekers | 8,541 |

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Bilal Hassan

Tax-to-GDP ratios are low in Pakistan because taxable persons prefer to remain out of the tax net by keeping their turnovers or incomes below taxable limits so as to defraud the national exchequer. Moreover, taxable persons do not adhere to tax return filing obligations. Even those who file tax returns hardly declare true particulars of incomes, expenses, assets and liabilities, etc. Lack of tax compliance culture has forced the government to introduce withholding tax regime, which contributes approximately 90 percent to the total tax collection of the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR). Less than 10 percent tax collection is coming through voluntary tax compliance.

A recent tug of war between the FBR and traders regarding implementation of certain provisions of tax laws provides an ample proof of lack of tax culture in the country so much so that the former had to enter into an agreement with the latter to persuade them to end their country-wide strike.

As per the agreement dated October 30, 2019, the traders with an annual turnover of up to Rs 100 million will be obliged to pay turnover tax at a rate of 0.5% of turnover, instead of 1.5%, and they will also not become withholding agents. Moreover, the electricity bill threshold for sales tax registration by retailers will be increased from Rs 600,000 to Rs 1.2 million. Pursuant to Tax Laws (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 2019, the FBR has incorporated amendments into tax laws concerning implementation of the agreement. Accordingly, the rate of minimum tax for tax year 2020 will be 0.5% for traders with turnover up to Rs 100 million, provided that the tax liability for tax years 2019 and 2020, in the case of traders who filed a tax return for tax year 2018, is not less than the tax paid for tax year 2018. Additionally, individual traders with turnover up to Rs 100 million are not obliged to act as withholding agents in respect of payments for goods, services and contracts under Section 153 of the Income Tax Ordinance, 2001.

**Tax revenue plays a significant role in economic growth and development of a nation, which is evident from the fact that countries with higher tax-to-GDP ratios are more developed as compared to countries where these ratios are low. Pakistan is included among developing countries because it collects tax revenue considerably less than expected. Even Pakistan's tax-to-GDP ratio is lower as compared to that of most of the similar economies.**

The precondition requiring the presentation of the computerized national identity card (CNIC) or national tax number (NTN) for making purchases of Rs 50,000 and above introduced through the Finance Act, 2019, was the most contentious and has been much agitated by the traders. The matter of conditioning CNIC or NTN, which was made mandatory from August 01, 2019, was deferred until January 31, 2020, pursuant to the agreement. Besides, the FBR clarified through a notification dated October 04, 2019,

# FBR versus Traders

## Revival of CNIC condition and its effects on tax compliance



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that the CNIC or NTN of the buyer with respect to taxable supplies to an unregistered person will be deemed to have been reported in good faith by the supplier provided that:

(a) the tax invoice complies with the requirements of section 23(b) of the Sales Tax Act, 1990;
(b) payment made by or on behalf of the unregistered purchaser of the amount of the tax invoice, inclusive of sales tax and applicable further tax, is deposited into the supplier's declared business bank account;
(c) the CNIC provided by the purchaser is found authenticated by the National Data base and Registration Authority (NADRA); and
(d) the CNIC or NTN provided is not of the employee of the seller or of his associates as defined under the Income Tax Ordinance, 2001.

Additionally, it has been made mandatory through notification that the issuance of a show cause notice to a registered person being a seller on account of any matter arising out of the CNIC provided by a purchaser will not be made without the prior approval of the FBR's Member (IR-Operations), after providing an opportunity to be heard.

Now the condition of CNIC has become applicable from February 01, 2020, onwards on sales by registered persons to unregistered persons. Therefore, every registered person is now required to collect information of buyer making purchases above Rs50,000. However, the condition of CNIC will not apply on ordinary consumer, which means a person who is buying the goods for his own consumption, and not for the purpose of re-sale or processing. This is an important measure for documenting the economy and to address the issue of fake and flying invoices.

Other provisions of the agreement between the FBR and traders reveal that the government will review the rate of turnover tax for wholesalers with low profit ratios in consultation with a committee of traders; the tax issues of jewellers will be resolved on a priority basis and in consultation with their associations; the withholding tax on the renewal of brokers' licences will be reviewed; the government will establish an exclusive section at the FBR in Islamabad to resolve the issues of traders on an immediate basis; the government will introduce simple forms in Urdu language for

the registration of new traders and income tax return filing; the traders' bodies will offer full cooperation to the FBR in registration of new businesses; the government will consult with the traders' committee on the decision to grant sales tax exemption to traders with shops measuring 1,000 square feet; and the government will consult with the traders on the decision to include retailers that are also engaged in wholesale business in the sales tax register.

The FBR has constituted committees to resolve disputes related to sales tax registration of shops covering an area of 1,000 square feet. Summarily, the FBR is about to implement other measures promised in the agreement. Now the traders must come forward to ensure registration and fulfil all their obligations under the tax laws, which is essential for improving tax compliance and strengthening the country's economy.

*The writer serves as Additional Director of Intelligence and Investigation (IR), Federal Board of Revenue.*

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# WATER, NATURE, AND CLIMATE CHANGE

On March 22, the world will celebrate World Water Day. This year, the theme of this international observance is: "Water, Nature and Climate Change." As the global population increases, so does the demand for water, meeting which, in many ways, depletes natural resources and pollutes the environment as well. In the face of changing climatic conditions worldwide, this issue highlights the urgent need to improve access to sustainable water supply. Water scarcity is a severe yet growing problem. For some part of each year, nearly 71 percent of the world's population (around 4.3 billion people), experience moderate to severe water scarcity.

Mian Majid Ali Afzal

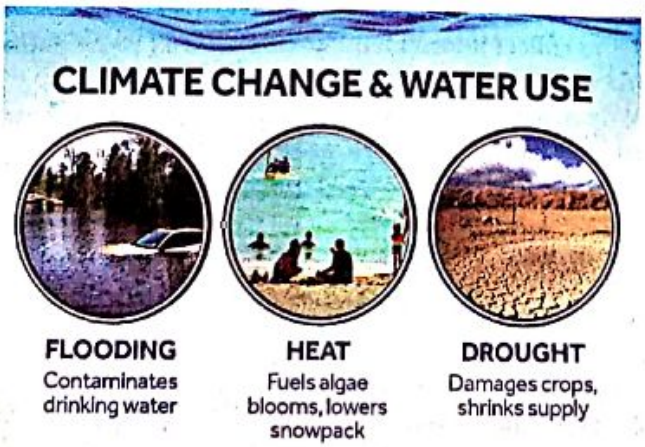
Water can be part of climate change and nature conservation: better water management in agriculture, which accounts for about 70 percent of all water use, is a key component of effective climate change reduction and adaptation strategies to achieve local and global environmental security, especially in regions where water scarcity and climatic changes are severe. The South Asian region has high-altitude mountainous terrains, sub-mountainous tracts, large flood-plains, with a network of rivers, streams and canals and link canals. The region accounts for 58 percent of the total irrigation potential of Southern and East Asia and has best—but poorly managed—irrigation network in the world.

South Asia is an agricultural region. It has the distinction of having the largest contiguous gravity flow irrigation system in the world. About 20 percent irrigation water waste is in seepage/evaporation which could be used to secure nature and minimize the impact of climate change on the region. Just take the province of Punjab as a pilot project for this purpose. Punjab has 19 barrages, 12 inter-river link canals and 43 independent irrigation canals with a total length of the main canals at 64000 km$^2$ where we can plant fruit-bearing trees, and the eco-friendly ones as well (18-20 feet apart) along the runway. By doing so, we can save up to 20 percent of irrigation water, and this would also help to reduce the air pollution.

***Some suggestions on World Water Day***

The governments must:

- Direct all efforts to improving livelihoods and agricultural productivity, reducing waste and the demand for resource-intensive water, and improving governance in the WASAs of various cities.
- Promote local-level efforts to empower people; creating sustainable rural livelihoods is also highly important.
- Provide for continuous education on water conservation for farmers through mass media, short courses, and exchange programmes with other South Asian states.
- Support its Ministry of Climate Change to provide scholarships to students who want to conduct research on issues related to water and environment.
- Prioritize research on high-value crops, livestock, fisheries, forest conservation, post-harvest handling, irrigation water management and management of soil problems.
- Ensure adequate and timely availability of water for farming as it will lead to enhanced food production, ergo availability.
- Incorporate climate change adaptation into the National Climate Policy. Water security should be the top priority in the climate change scenario.
- Assess issues, goals and strategies across the Indus basin and establish joint scenarios, modelling and risk assessments, a Joint Experts Group from all riparian countries should be formed
- Put in place valid institutional structures and implement integrated management of the water resources as these are the key components for trans-boundary cooperation on climate change
- Make it mandatory for every person to plant a tree, save water for the preservation of nature and its resources.

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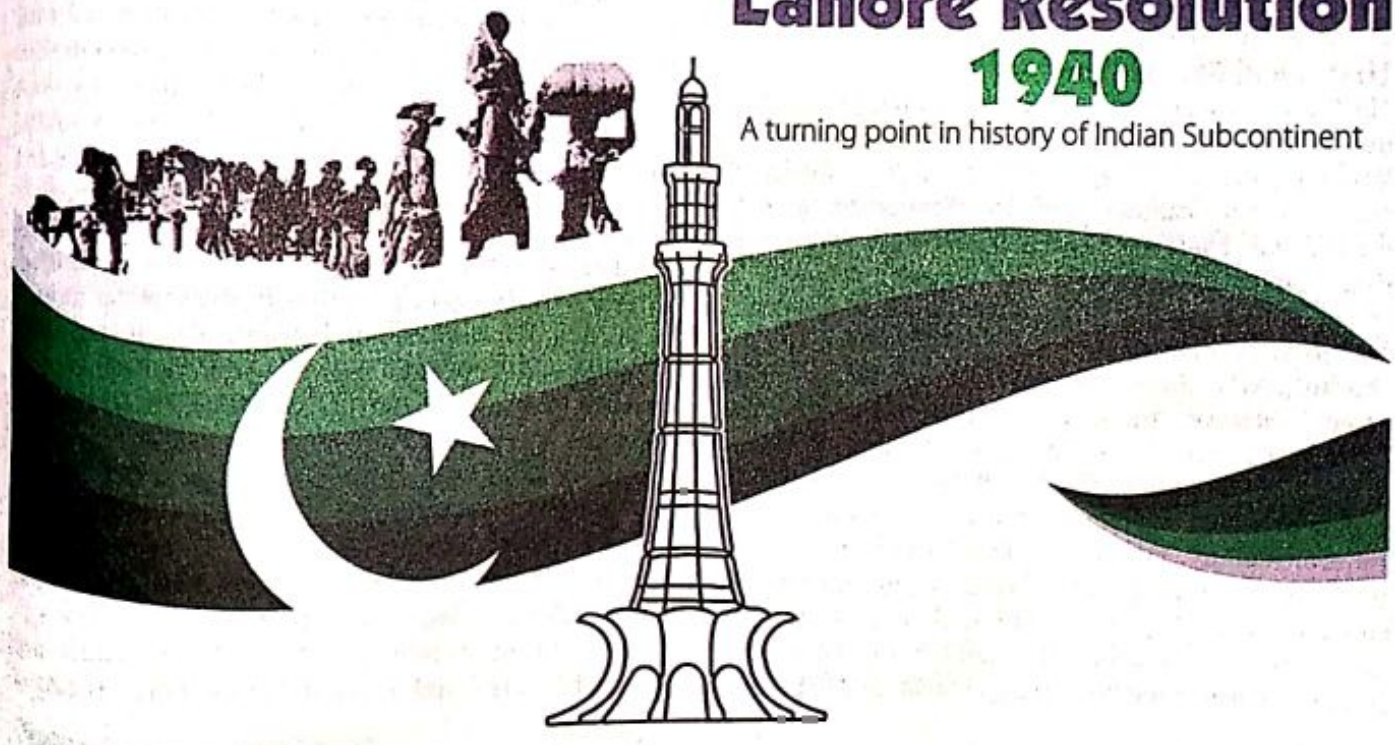
Engr. Sarfraz Nawaz

# Lahore Resolution 1940

## A turning point in history of Indian Subcontinent



**On 23rd of March, the nation will celebrate the Pakistan Day with traditional zeal and fervor. This day marks the passage of the historic "Lahore Resolution" of 1940 which played an important role in the struggle for the freedom of our country. This was the day when members of the All-India Muslim League (AIML) proposed the formation of 'independent states' that would later become Pakistan and India. The Lahore Resolution marked a momentous shift in Sub-continental politics, with Muslim leaders, including the previously pro-unity Muhammad Ali Jinnah, espousing the idea of a separate Muslim homeland in accordance with the Two-Nation theory. The event marks the first official demand for a separate nation, and is seen as real beginning to the formation of Pakistan.**

Pakistan's establishment as an independent and sovereign state was the end-product of a long drawn evolutionary political struggle. It aimed at creating a homeland for the Muslims of British India who wanted to secure their civilizational and political identity, rights and interests against the fear of being overwhelmed by an unsympathetic, at times hostile, majority.

Pakistan Resolution also represented the transition of the Muslims of British India from a minority community to a nation. Every community or political-cultural and ethnic identity does not become a nation. This is a manifestation of how the Muslims were able to achieve this transformation.

One of the milestone developments in this transformation process took place on March 23, 1940. It was on this date the All-India Muslim League (AIML) officially presented a resolution in its annual public session in Lahore, for grouping together the Muslim-majority provinces to establish a homeland for them. This resolution was adopted on March 24 after several supportive speeches, including the presidential speech by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

This resolution was an important document because it gave a new direction to the Muslims' search for security for its identity, rights and interests. Instead of repeating the old demand of constitutional safeguards and guarantees for the Muslims within an Indian federation, the AIML advocated an option outside of the federal system.

As the Muslim political struggle in British India developed as an evolutionary process, the resolution passed in the Lahore session of the AIML cannot be separated from its historical and political context. Similarly, the political developments in 1940-47 have to be taken into account that shaped the final details of the demand for a separate homeland.

### Basic Principles

The basic principles underlined in the March 23, 1940, Resolution were:

1. The resolution rejected the federal system as set out in the Government of India Act, 1935, by declaring it as "totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India."
2. No new revised constitutional plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it was framed "with

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their approval and consent."

3. New constitutional plan must be framed on the basis of the principle "that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute Independent States, in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

4. The religious minorities were promised "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards. In these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them."

The Madras session of the AIML in April 1941 adopted a resolution inserting the word "together" between "grouped" and "to constitute" in the text of the Lahore Resolution. The sentence then read: ....the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped together to constitute Independent States.

No serious controversy arose in 1940-47 about the use of the terms like "Independent States" and "the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign" because the resolution was examined in the political context of the 1940s and in the light of the Muslim political experience in British India. The political developments in the 1940-47 period created clarity about what the Muslims were aiming at under the leadership of Jinnah and the AIML.

## Historical Backdrop

The Lahore Resolution was drafted in the backdrop of two important developments. First, traditionally the Muslim leadership demanded separate electorate, reservations of seats in the cabinet and the legislative bodies, constitutional safeguards and guarantees for protecting their political and cultural rights and representation in governmental system. They also talked of provincial autonomy so that the Muslim-majority provinces were able to govern them in accordance with their political choices. However, the AIML leadership learnt from the bitter experience of the Congress rule in non-Muslim majority province during 1937-39 that a federal system with provincial autonomy did not guarantee their socio-cultural identity, civil and political rights and socio-economic interests, including access to government jobs and patronage. They began to think about going beyond the notion of federation. The Sindh Provincial Muslim League (1938) was the first to suggest that the AIML needs to review its position on federal system altogether in view of the political experience of the Muslims.

Second, the Muslim political leaders had started talking about "Muslim homeland" in India in the mid and late 1930s. Some leaders suggested the need of carving out three or four homelands in various parts of India as exclusively Muslim areas. The AIML Resolution used the term "states" against the backdrop of these proposals for several Muslim homelands and in order to attract as much support as possible of the Muslim elite living in different parts of India. If the Lahore Resolution is read along with other proposals floating among Indian Muslim about their political future, it was not surprising that the resolution used a broadly based text which made sense in the context of 1940.

The Muslim political struggle shaped up gradually. The Muslim political and societal elite did not demand separate homeland from the beginning. They made different demands for protecting their identity, rights and interests. In March 1940, they floated the idea rejecting the federal model for India. However, the Muslim political movement did not end in 1940. The political developments in the next seven years resulted in changes in their strategies; they were able to put forward their demand for a separate homeland in more precise and definite terms.

The AIML had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) for the political future of India, which retained a loose federal system at least for the next ten years. The AIML agreed to this Plan because the Muslim-majority provinces were grouped in two units and they had the right to review the relationship with each other and with the federal system after ten years. As the Congress did not accept these political conditions and refused to work within the framework of the Cabinet Mission proposals, the AIML withdrew its approval. This strengthened the AIML commitment to seek their homeland in a steadfast manner.

Within two years of the passing of the Lahore Resolution, the AIML leadership began to emphasise singular term of state. The communication between Jinnah and M.K. Gandhi clarified the notion of a Muslim homeland. Gandhi asked Jinnah in his letter of September 15, 1944 if the constituent units in the two zones would "constitute independent states?" Jinnah's response in his letter of September 17, 1944, was very categorical: "No. They will form units of Pakistan."

The AIML formally articulated the notion of a single state in a resolution adopted by the meeting of the newly-elected Muslim League members of the central and provincial legislatures in April 1946 in Delhi. The AIML



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contested the 1946 provincial elections on two major claims: the AIML was the sole organisation representing the Muslim and that their demand was the establishment of a separate homeland of Pakistan.

Therefore, the study of Pakistan Movement cannot stop at 1940. The next 7 years have to be taken into account without which the establishment of Pakistan cannot be fully understood.

## Post-Independence Debate

The Lahore Resolution was subjected to two kinds of controversies in the post-independence period. First, a number of regional-nationalist political leaders argued that the provinces should be given autonomy on the Lahore Resolution which talked about the units being autonomous and independent. Some argued for maximum autonomy for provinces with a federal government that exercised very limited powers. A few others suggested that Pakistan should be converted into a confederation where the provinces would be independent or semi-independent.

Second, in the immediate aftermath of the break-up of Pakistan and the establishment of Bangladesh in December 1971, a number of political writers and some leaders of the ruling Pakistan People's Party (December 1971-July 1977) argued that the establishment of two Muslim-majority states, Pakistan and Bangladesh, had fully materialised the Lahore Resolution. It was argued that the Lahore Resolution envisaged two states for the Muslims of British India and, in December 1971, the second Muslim state came into existence.

These two interpretations of the Lahore Resolution can be described as misleading, implying a literalist approach towards its text. This resolution did not offer any framework for distribution of state-power between the centre and its units in Pakistan. It addressed the constitutional issues in an all-India context of the 1940s and offered a general statement on settling the Hindu-Muslim question in British India. It suggested a broad framework for articulating the constitutional relationship between the Muslim-majority provinces with the rest of India.

The Lahore Resolution used three terms, i.e., units, regions and zones, in the text rather than naming the Muslim-majority provinces. Similarly, the Resolution did not define the territorial boundaries of the new state. The Resolution was a major step in search for a secure political, social, cultural and economic future for the Muslims of British India. The AIML presented the notion of a homeland comprising the Muslim-majority areas at a time when several other proposals existed for creating Muslim homelands. None of these proposals was very definite about an exclusive sovereignty for proposed new homelands.

The political experience of the Muslims and the drift of the political events during the course of the Second World War helped them to fully articulate their demand in precise terms.

Today, the Lahore Resolution is relevant as a milestone and turning point in the Muslims' struggle in British India for the protection and advancement of their cultural and civilizational identity, and rights and interests as a distinct and politically important community. It does not offer any constitutional formula for organising state power in the post-independence period.

The notion of a separate homeland became integral to the Muslim political discourse after the passage of the Lahore Resolution and the AIML became the zealous champion of this demand. However, Pakistan was granted independence on the basis of the Indian Independence Act of July 1947; rather than text of the Lahore Resolution. The Indian Independence Act envisaged two independent states of India and Pakistan, rejecting the ambitions of some princely states to stay independent of the two states. The proposal for an independent united Bengal was also shot-down in this process. Pakistan's territorial boundaries were finalised on the third day after the grant of independence by Cyril Radcliffe who headed the boundary commissions for demarcation of the Punjab and Bengal boundaries.

## Conclusion

On this 23rd March, we should reflect upon the gift of Pakistan at a time when many countries in the world face great turmoil—some of them even civil wars—and are on the verge of disintegration. This day we should help raise awareness among the new generations about the struggle of the Muslims for their right to self-determination and how important it is to safeguard Pakistan's solidarity and integrity. The day also calls upon us to cement the forces of cohesion and integration as cynics mount their campaigns in political opportunism.

On this day, we should reignite the spirit of the historic Lahore Resolution of 1940 by rejuvenating enthusiasm and spirit among our countrymen. The argument is simple and enduring: Pakistan with its great potential, negotiating the maze and complexities and overcoming all the significant challenges, is here to stay forever and make tangible and potentially sustainable progress.



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# Climate Anxiety

**Our climate is changing at an accelerated rate and continues to have profound impacts on human health. This change jeopardizes not only physical health but also mental health. Climate change harms mental wellbeing in a number of ways. From trauma and stress following disasters, to relationship damage caused by separation and displacement, the psychological effects of climate change can be enduring. Polls have found that worry about climate change is affecting more people as global warming becomes more apparent around the world.**

Abdul Haseeb

It makes sense is the first thing to say about the phenomenon being described by psychologists as climate anxiety. Wherever in the world you live, there are very good reasons to feel anxious about the rate of global heating and the lack of adequate action to tackle it by governments, businesses and organisations of all sorts.

The predicted consequences are frightening: hotter weather in already inhospitable places, sea-level rises caused by melting ice sheets, and increased disruption of weather systems leading to floods, fires, hurricanes, food and water shortages—with the linked biodiversity crisis another cause for grave concern. Depending on the steps that are taken (or not) over the next decade, a period during which the UN estimates that carbon emissions need to be cut by 7.6% annually, if we are to avoid temperature rises above 1.5℃, the disruption caused to human societies could be immense. For countries such as Pakistan, the effects are likely to be devastating.

Given all this, it arguably makes more sense to be anxious than not. And climate anxiety is one way of describing the motivations of every person or organisation that is trying to do something to limit or to mitigate the effects of global heating—whether an individual altering their diet, a charity switching energy supplier, a council setting emissions targets or the Guardian deciding to stop selling advertising space to fossil fuel companies.

But, as with all negative emotions, the trick is to distinguish ordinary feelings —what Sigmund Freud famously called "common unhappiness"— from those that are disproportionate, or so intense and prolonged as to be debilitating. While it makes sense to be worried about the climate emergency, becoming overwhelmed is counter-productive. The sound advice from psychologists that actions, however small, can help to alleviate feelings of distress and powerlessness echoes the experiences of activists including Jane Fonda that "the minute you start doing something, the depression goes away".

Not all low moods are readily lifted, however, and warnings of worsening mental health as a result of climate disruptions and hardships should be taken seriously. Already there is cause for concern, with research showing that people who have experienced extreme weather such as floods in the UK are 50% more likely to suffer from problems including depression. Resilience may be a desirable quality, but is much more easily developed by those who are cushioned by income or advantage.

Growing demand for psychological support should be met by professionals who are able to distinguish everyday worries from post-traumatic stress or other symptoms.

Disasters on the scale of Australia's recent bush fires and Indonesia's floods can be expected to produce severe mental as well as physical reactions, particularly in children and other vulnerable groups. In some parts of the world, trauma is already normalised, and when psychologists write of their fear that it could become ubiquitous, policymakers everywhere should take notice.

But it is important to remember that there are reasons to hope, as well as despair. As the environmental scientist Vaclav Smil said last year, "We [humans] are stupid, we are negligent, we are tardy. But on the other hand, we are adaptable, we are smart and even as things are falling apart, we are trying to stitch them together."



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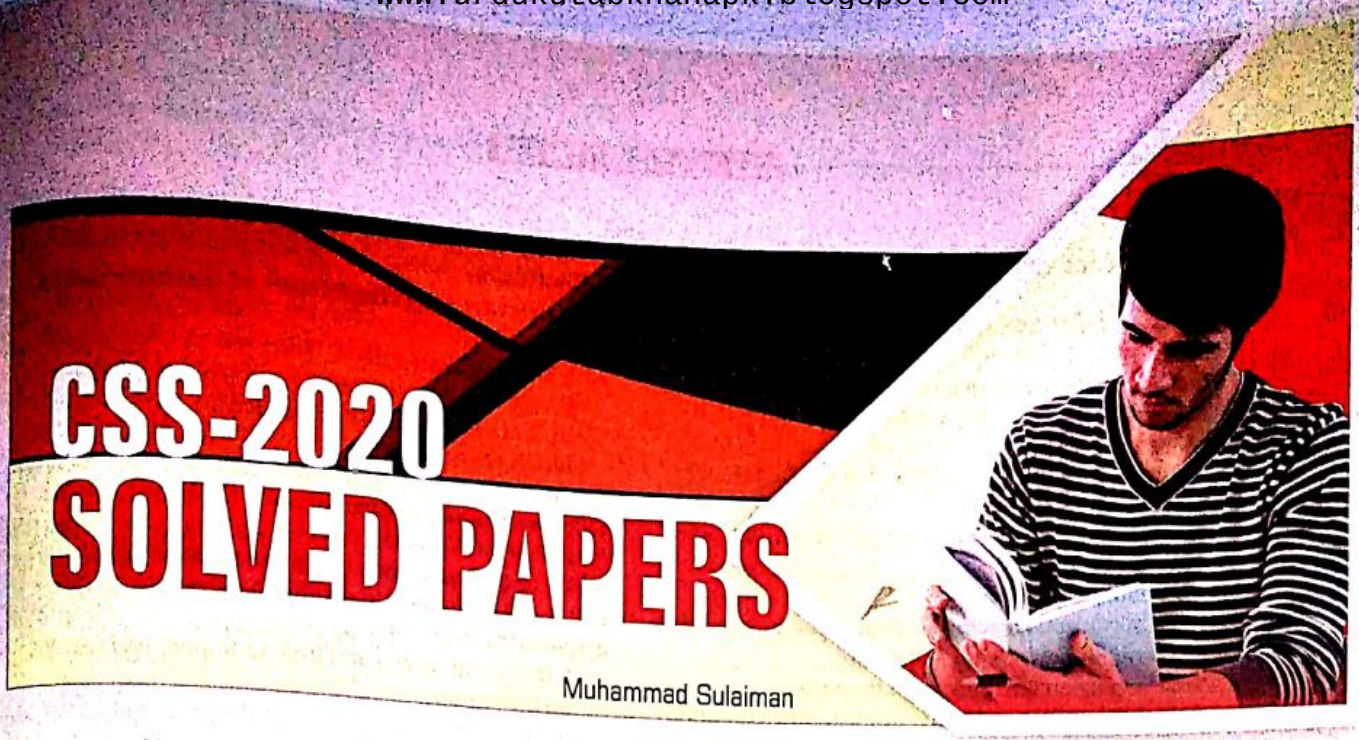


# CSS-2020 SOLVED PAPERS

Muhammad Sulaiman

## English Essay (Outlines)

### Do we really need literature in our lives?

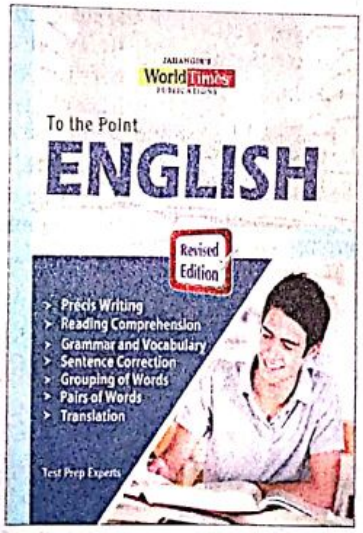
a. Introduction
   i. Shapes beliefs that govern life
   ii. Adds to meaningfulness and purposefulness of life
   iii. Enhances imagination
   iv. Defines experiences and gives benefit of hindsight
   v. Uses various forms of symbolism to make vicissitudes of life benign and bearable

b. Different forms of literature such as poetry, drama, prose, non-fiction, science fiction

c. Societies develop literature for various purposes and utilities to run affairs of life

d. Why do we need literature in our lives?
   i. Man is a social animal, having unique talent to communicate
   ii. Different languages and modes of communication among and across various cultures
   iii. It encourages learning, introspection, association with situations and collaboration
   iv. It provides insight into the past, present and future
   v. It expands horizon of imagination
   vi. It provides succour and food for thought to carve out new possibilities
   vii. It uses idealism, realism and symbolism to explore different aspects of life
   viii. It can help understand the mental attitudes, emotional states and contents of expression of individuals and groups
   ix. It develops narratives and values that different cultures utilize to increase social bonding and integration
   x. It increases purposefulness of life and makes it more bearable and amenable to live
   xi. It develops understanding and appreciation for different cultures
   xii. It acts as a good mode of catharsis and bridging the understanding gap
   xiii. It builds empathy among the population and makes interaction more enjoyable
   xiv. It leads to development of tolerance for criticism within the domains of ethical behaviour
   xv. It helps in expanding the frontiers of freedom of thought, freedom of expression, critical scholarship, and respect for liberties
   xvi. It experiments with ideas which can bring change and bring equilibrium or corrective measures in the society
   xvii. It can build a conscience of the society, add to values
   xviii. It can guide political, social and economic reform process

e. Conclusion




### Women universities as agents of change

a. Introduction
   i. Changing academic, work, social, political and professional paradigms
   ii. Change in nature of economy and compulsive participation
   iii. Role of women universities to prepare for different tiers of professional education
   iv. Increase in participation and enrollment
   v. Diversification of different fields and promotion equal opportunity

b. Present status
   i. Marginalization of female students



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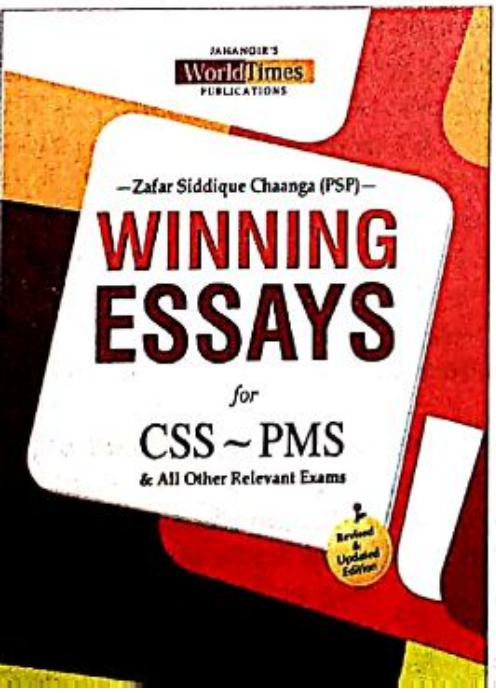
ii. Lack of incentives and opportunities for female students
iii. Job-related stereotypes and stigmas by most employers

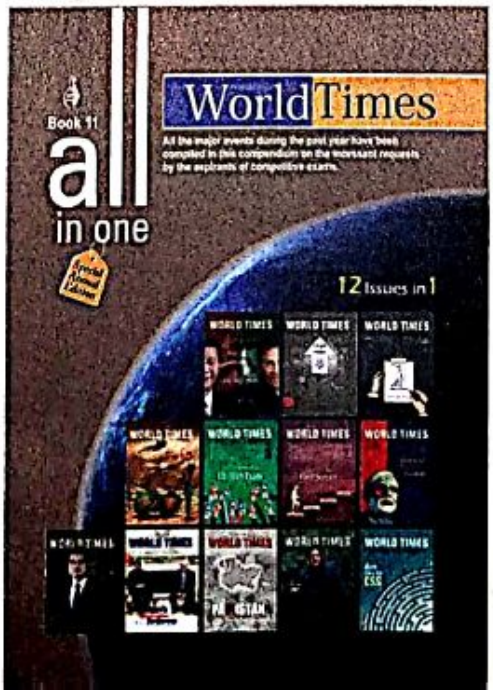
c. Enhanced participation to increase
i. Emancipation
ii. Awareness
iii. Empowerment
iv. Opportunity
v. Employment
vi. Responsibility
vii. Equality

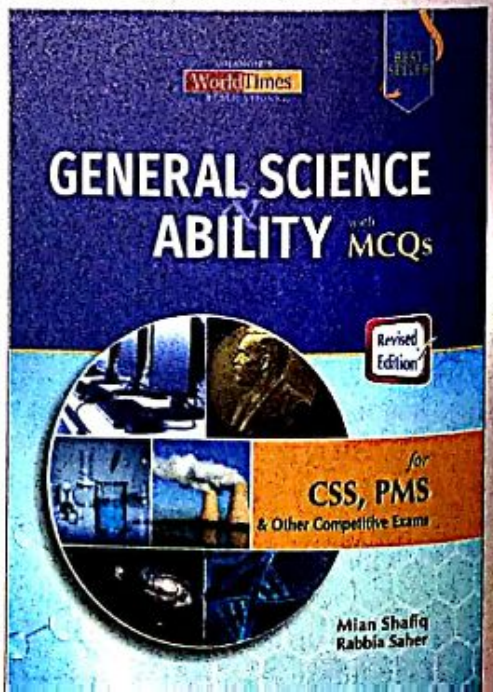
d. Change in cultural norms as women no longer viewed as liability or redundant component of life
e. Change in patriarchal thinking of the society
f. Sustainable families and better opportunities for family planning
g. Diversification of different fields to increase level playing field and more access to opportunities in different fields
h. Economic participation and awareness to add to GDP of the country
i. Women entrepreneurship and financial security
j. Conceptualization of change through:
i. Increase in capacity and number of universities
ii. More grants to women universities to increase participation with scholarships and stipends
iii. Constitutionally-guaranteed share for women universities in annual education budget for federal- and provincial government-sponsored institutes
iv. Incentives in law to organizations and companies in private sector to facilitate women enrollment in universities
v. Better liaison with international donors and organizations to increase participation of women in education, skilled jobs and research
vi. Promotion of research and scholarship culture across all women universities
k. Conclusion

**Pakistan and the future of Kashmir cause**

a. Introduction
i. Territorial dispute
ii. Aggression by India
iii. War of Kashmir's independence
iv. UN resolutions
b. Wars and conflicts between two neighbouring countries
c. Peace accords and their failure
d. Musharraf-Vajpayee talks
e. Fate of composite and comprehensive dialogues
f. Track-II diplomacy to resolve the issue
g. Issues in resolution
i. Indian obduracy and urge to impose its hegemony on the region
ii. Strong Indian economy and investment of various countries
iii. Fear of right-wing and media backlash
iv. Politicization of a genuine issue
v. Distrust and lack of coordination
vi. Lack of people-to-people contacts
h. Effects of the dispute
i. Regional peace, trade, development and cooperation in danger
ii. Serious setback to the economies of these countries
iii. Focus on militarization instead of on poverty
i. New dimensions to the issue
i. Denial of rights, atrocities, constitutional protections, security and special status, human rights violations
ii. Puppet governments to extend rule in the barricaded valley
iii. Killing of Burhan Wani
iv. Lockdown of the Kashmir Valley, communication blockade and restriction on media access and reporting
v. Indigenous struggle branded as Pakistan-funded





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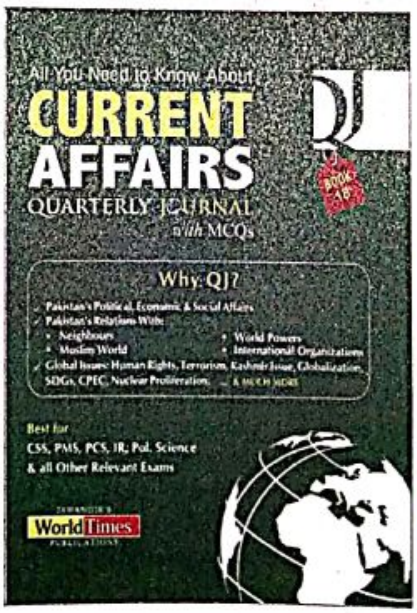
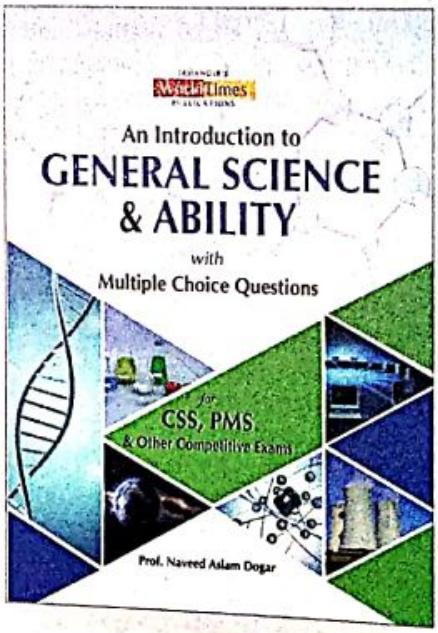
terrorism campaign
vi. Revoking of Article 370 and special constitutional status
vii. Sham reforms introduced to change the demographic composition of the Kashmir region by incentivizing private investment and purchase of land
m. Options before Pakistan in future
i. Revival of SAARC to increase trade and counter Indian hegemony in South Asia
ii. UN resolutions and efforts to raise awareness regarding Indian atrocities
iii. Robust diplomacy in UN General Assemblyto highlight Indian atrocities in the occupied Kashmir
iv. Projection of Kashmiri's struggle through carefully weighed diplomacy
v. Economic diplomacy to be exercised by friends of Pakistan to coerce Indian government into cooperation
vi. Prospects of war and nuclear threat to be ruled out so that Pakistan could demonstrate its commitment to international law and show its responsibility
vii. EU to be apprised on the atrocities committed by Indian government against the Kashmiri people
n. Conclusion

## Polarized politics: the issues and challenges of democracy in Pakistan

a. Introduction
i. Campaign politics embedded in rhetoric and pre-supposed positions
ii. Ethnic and province-based politics vitiate the democratic process
iii. Campaign politics directed against policies of previous governments, groups or political cliques
iv. Allegations of support or rejection by ruling establishment to be a decisive factor in polarized politics
v. Use of media and social networks to support narratives which revolve around party positions
vi. Political process seen from a narrow prism in which political problems are ignored and political dispensations are attacked
vii. Polarized politics has populist appeal which gains through dividing population in camps on the basis of issues and historical baggage of opponent parties
b. Issues with polarized politics
i. Identity politics run deep among several streams of the polity, political parties and media groups
ii. Leads to political mud-slinging and brinkmanship
iii. Devoid of factual position and ground realities
iv. Lacks in-depth analysis on the issues confronting the nation state
c. Threats and challenges posed by polarized politics
i. Polarized politics not favourable to a democracy which doesn't have strong democratic institutions
ii. Institution building is lost in political blame game and politics of power grab
iii. Politics of reconciliation and cooperation takes a back seat
iv. Consensus building on issues of importance no longer possible as party positions become entrenched ego wars
v. Democratic process gets tainted as concerns are raised over biasness and partisanship
vi. Voters of political parties lose their say in the political process
vii. Ethnic and provincial divisions further aggravate as a result of polarized politics
viii. Solution-oriented politics are nowhere to be seen which disenchants the voters and erodes their trust in the democratic process
d. Way forward
i. Issue-based politics to strengthen institutions and help advance the democratic process
ii. Party positions to be based on manifestoes and issues
iii. Personalization of politics and personal attacks to be shunned
iv. Allegations and false claims to be strictly banned
v. Misuse of media and other social networks to be strictly regulated and no moral appeals or self-righteous claims to be made or given space in political debates or exchanges in the parliaments
vi. Political maturity to be displayed through performance and issue resolution instead of claims
e. Conclusion



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# ENGLISH (PRÉCIS & COMPOSITION)

| Synonyms | |
|---|---|
| Guile | Slyness |
| Essay | Attempt |
| Inception | Beginning |
| Expatriate | Emigrant |
| Sinister | Malevolent |
| Contraption | Device |
| Animosity | Enmity |
| Condone | Overlook |
| Plagiarism | Piracy |
| Impeachment | Indictment |

| Antonyms | |
|---|---|
| Eternity | Transience |
| Pandemonium | Quietude |
| Relinquish | Adopt |
| Henpecked | Assertive |
| Consistency | Anomaly |
| Laudable | Unworthy |
| Exaggeration | Understatement |
| Extempore | Prepared |
| Hypothetical | Actual |
| Pooh-pooh | Praise |

## Q.2. Précis

**Title: Unwarranted Manto Maligning**

Manto was denounced by hypocritical and ignorant critics for being vulgar and obscene in his writings. However, he remained steadfast and continued his mission of exposing the unpleasant social realities and discovering the darker regions of human psyche. He treated sex not as an abstract concept but as a concrete reality of life. Manto's characters are normal human beings; men of flesh and blood. Instead of glorifying humanity, he depicted human nature as it is. He identified with the readers on their day-to-day psychological and moral dilemmas.

## Q.3. Comprehension

**1. Define globalization.**

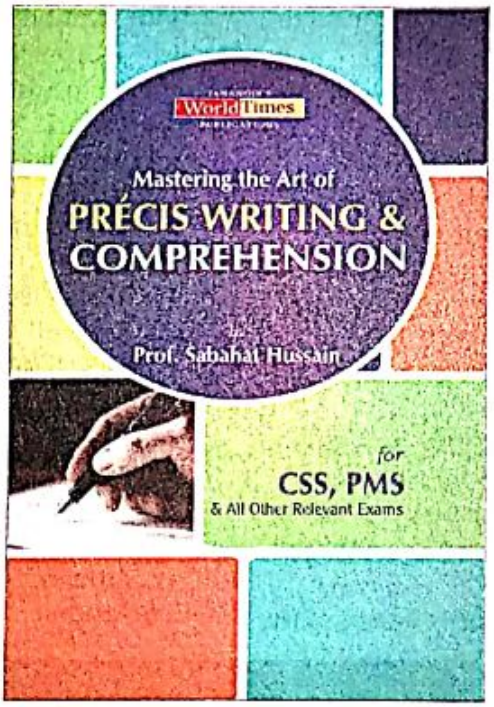
Globalization is the connection of different parts of the world resulting in the expansion of international cultural, economic and political activities. It is also the movement and integration of goods and people among different countries.

**2. What is electronic mass communication?**

Electronic mass communication is the process of communicating with others using electronic means and information communication technology tools like email, social media newsgroups, chat rooms, video conferencing, instant messaging, phone and fax.

**3. What does the term Third World denote?**

The term 'Third World' denotes underdeveloped and developing countries, especially from Asia and Africa. It encompasses all countries that were not actively aligned with either side in the Cold War and these were often impoverished former European colonies, and included nearly all the nations of Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia.




**4. What is privatization?**

The transfer of ownership, property or business from the government to the private sector is termed privatization. The government ceases to be the owner of the entity or business. It is a manifestation of today's free-market economy.

**5. Explain 'liberalism' in the above context.**

Liberalism, in the above context, is the opening up of countries to the trends of globalization. The notions of privatization and free market are important ingredients of this ideology in the field of economy.

## Q.4. Correction

Correct: I defeated him in the race.
Correct: He said that he was playing chess.
Correct: Unless you try, you will never succeed.
Correct: He wrote in ink.
Correct: What country does he belong to?
Correct: When he reaches manhood, he will visit England.
Correct: The new session commences on February 1st, 2020.
Correct: Please send this letter to my address.

## Q.5. (a) Punctuation

Letters between relatives and friends are called personal letters. The most important thing in such letters is the content. Don't begin with a hackneyed phrase like 'I was delighted to get your letter', 'received your letter' or 'I have often thought of writing to you'; use a vigorous, clear and chatty style.

### (b) Prepositions

i. I was annoyed *at* him.
ii. This train is bound *for* Gujrat.
iii. The pistol went *on* by accident.
iv. He kept *on* asking silly questions.
v. He was knocked down *by* the bus.
vi. Do not meddle *in* my affairs.
vii. The meeting was put *off* by the Chairman.
viii. He rounded *off* his speech with a quote from Ghalib.

## Q.6. Use of Idioms in sentences

i. To break the ice. (to attempt to become friends with someone, set at ease)
*He told a few jokes to break the ice.*
ii. Nip in the bud (halt at an early stage)
*It's important to nip this kind of bullying in the bud.*
iii. See eye to eye with. (Agree,)
*I don't see eye to eye with my brother*



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*on many things.*

iv. For good (Forever)

*He got locked up again—this time for good.*

v. Tamper with (meddle or interfere with)

*The government does not want to tamper with an economy that is already healing itself.*

vi. The small hours (The hours just after midnight)

*I love the small hours, when few are awake and one can be alone with one's thoughts.*

vii. Keep up appearances (to pretend to be happier, less poor, etc.)

*They were very unhappily married but kept up appearances for the sake of their children.*

viii. Prima facie (at first sight, true, valid, or sufficient at first impression)

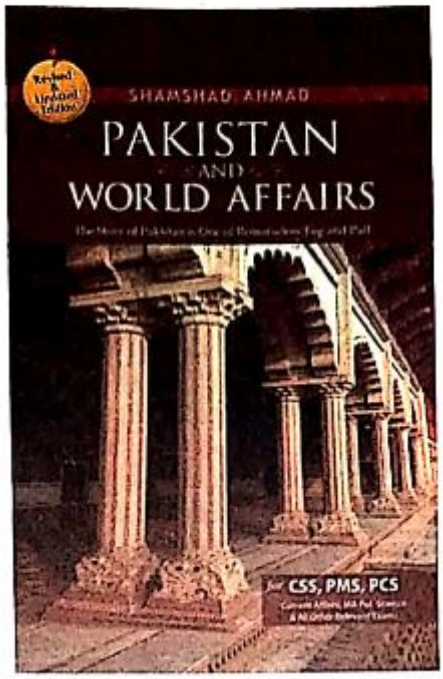
*There is prima facie evidence that he was involved in the fraud.*

**Q.7. Translation**

Every nation in the world has its own educational system that not only complements its own temper and outlook but also helps fulfil the national and communal aspirations, and to achieve this goal, that nation always remains vigilant and proactive. So, the educational system of a nation is an all-encompassing training module which helps in fostering the mental abilities of the people and in their character building. The educational system nurtures the talents of individuals in such a way that they become able to change the fate of the nation.

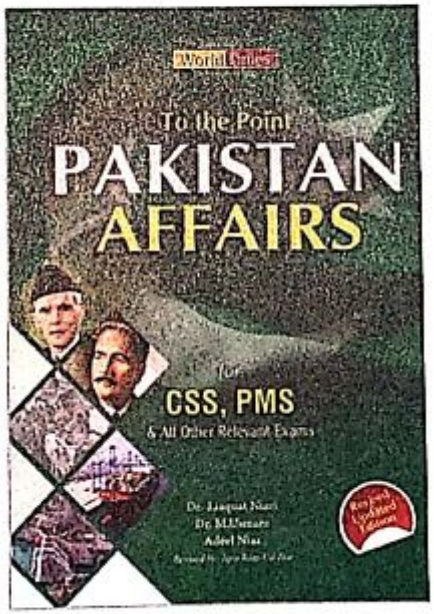
## Pakistan Affairs

1. Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was born in: *1564 AD*
2. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan published the booklet Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind (The Causes of the Indian Revolt) in: *1859*
3. The total length of Pakistan coastline is: *1,050 km (650 mi)*
4. Pakistan became full member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) on: *June 9, 2017*
5. Pakistan conducted its first




nuclear tests on: *May 28, 1998*

6. Operation Zarb-e-Azab started on: *June 15, 2014*
7. The terror attacks in Mumbai took



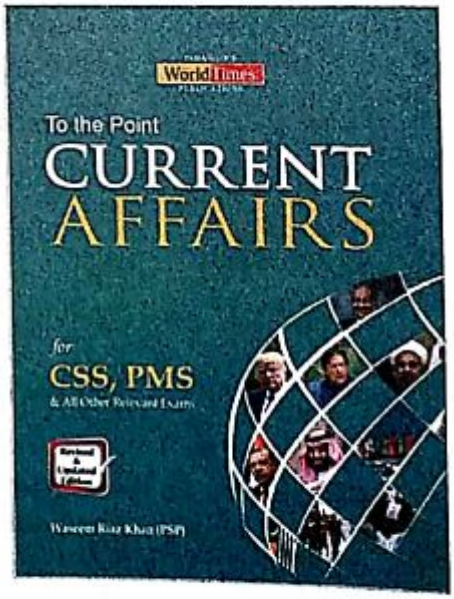

place in: *Nov 2008*

8. India revoked Article 370 on: *Aug 5, 2019*
9. President assented to the 25th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan that merged FATA into KP on: *May 31, 2018*
10. The article of the Constitution of Pakistan that guarantees the right to free and compulsory education to children between the ages of five and sixteen years is: *Article 25-A*
11. Pakistan's current ranking in terms of healthcare according to the World Health Organization (WHO) is: *122*
12. The first principal of Darul Uloom Deoband was: *Maulana Muhammad Yaqub Nanautawi*
13. Mughal ruler who was contemporary of Queen Elizabeth I was: *Akbar*
14. The party that formed government in Punjab after 1937 elections was: *Unionist Party*
15. Pamphlet "Now or Never" was written by: *Chaudhary Rehmat Ali*
16. The years that are termed of alignment in Pakistan's foreign policy were: *1953-1962*
17. The first Muslim general entered victorious in the Subcontinent in: *712 AD*
18. Based on physiographic factors and causes of diversity in climate, the number of regions Pakistan is divided into is: *4*
19. The Holy Quran was first translated into Persian by: *Shah Waliullah*
20. Dyarchy was first introduced in the Government of India Act of: *1919*

## Current Affairs

1.Ease of doing business is an index published by: *The World Bank*

2.The fourth China-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Foreign Ministers'



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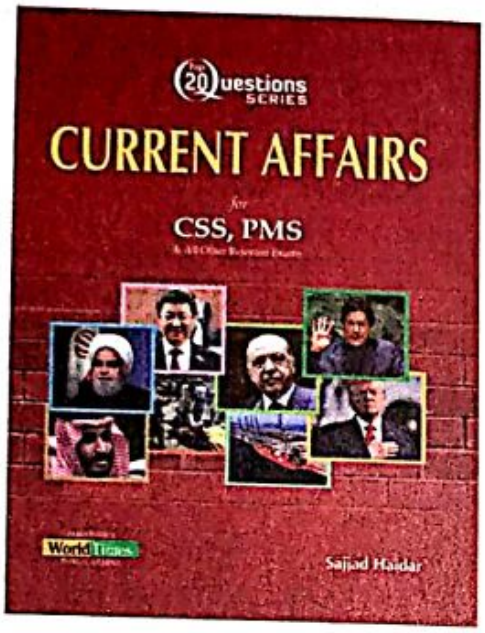
Dialogue in 2020 will be hosted by: *China*

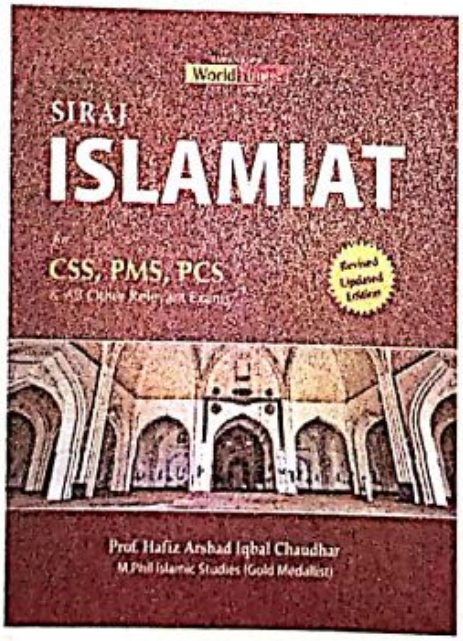
3. First National Science & Technology Park of Pakistan was inaugurated by Imran Khan on: *December 9, 2019*
4. Imran Khan inaugurated Azakhel Dry Port in Nowshera on: *January 10, 2020*
5. 2019 Indo-Pacific Chiefs of



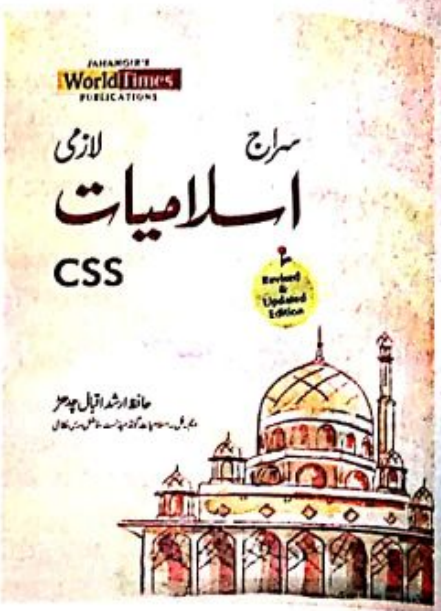

Defence (CHOD) conference was held in: *Bangkok*
6. According to SIPRI report, in 2018, the world military expenditure has grown to: *$1.8 trillion*
7. Iranian Gen. Qassem Soleimani was killed on: *January 3, 2020*
8. The members of UN Human Rights Council are: *18*
9. The WTO is the successor to: *GATT*
10. Commonwealth Day is annually observed on: *Second Monday of March*
11. NAFTA is an agreement signed by: *Canada, US and Mexico*
12. UN Human Rights Day is observed on: *Dec 10*
13. Sumatra island is situated in: *Indonesia*
14. In September 2019, Abqaik and Khurais were attacked. These two places are situated in: *Saudi Arabia*
15. Currently, the number of NATO member states is: *29*
16. Pakistan applied for membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group on: *19th May 2016*
17. Last SAARC summit was held in: *2014*
18. Imran Khan addressed the UNGA on: *Sept. 27, 2019*
19. The 2020 presidential election in US will be held on: *3 November*
20. SALT-II Treaty was signed in: *1979*

## Islamiat

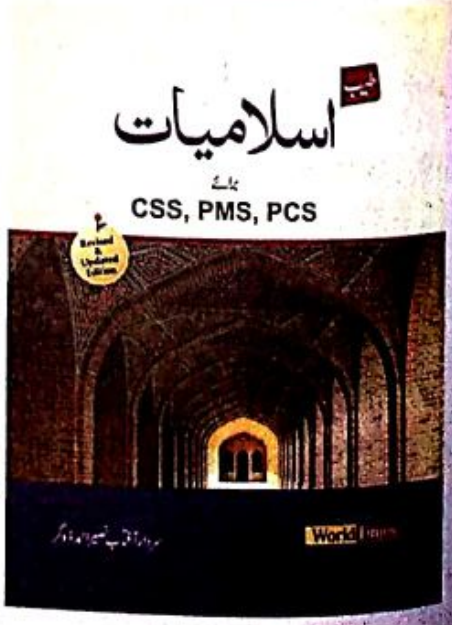
1. The Surah in which Bismillah occurs 2 times is: *Surah an-Namal*
2. Longest verse in the Holy Quran is= *Verse 282, Surah Al-Baqarah*
3. The number of Surahs starting with Huroof-e-Muqattiat: *29*
4. The number of times the Holy Prophet (PBUH) performed Umrah is: *4*
5. First Book on Algebra was written by the Muslim scientisit named: *Al-Khawarizmi*
6. The prayers that has been emphasized most are those of=Asr




7. Hazrat Bilal (RA) was set free by=*Hazrat Abu Bakr as-Siddique (RA)*
8. Most important unit of Islamic code of life is=Prayer
9. The number of verses of abrogation in the holy Quran according to Shah Wlaiullah is: *5*
10. Share of the mother of the deceased in his inheritance is: *1/6th*
11. Orator of the Prophets is the title of: *Hazrat Shoaib (AS)*
12. Another name of Masjid Quba is=Masjid-e-Taqwa
13. Abu Sufyan (RA) embraced Islam




on=*Conquest of Makkah*
14. First Amir of Hajj was: *Hazrat Abu Bakr as-Siddique (RA)*
15. Hajj was made obligatory in: *9AH*
16. Umm al-Mu'mineen Hazrat Safia (RA) was arrested in: *Battle of Khyber*
17. The prophet whose name has been mentioned most in Quran is: *Hazrat Musa (AS)*
18. Bani Israel were the children of: *Hazrat Yaqoob (AS)*
19. A hadith that has the chain of narrators up to the Holy Prophet (PBUSH) is called: *Hadith-e-Marfu*
20. Imam Darul Hijrat was the title of: *Hazrat Malik bin Ans (RA)*

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# Fabricated TRUTH

## The legacy we are leaving behind!

Syed Waqar Ali Shah

Pakistan is a country where majority thinks that philosophy is disbelief, use of science is permissible but it is a route to hell and most of the discourse is mythologized. Such assumptions are likely to hinder a scientific and critical thinking among people. Notably, the human history has undergone various phases of intellectual development—theological, metaphysical and positivist. This division by Auguste Comte explains that beginning of human thought was theological in nature. People in primitive age of their civilization divinized the natural occurrences. Natural objects, including animals, trees, fire, etc., were worshipped. This was the first phase when human intellect was underdeveloped. I can relate this phase to many of the people living in Pakistan even today who regard 'reality' as theological. People are split into various religious beliefs and sub-beliefs resulting in an intense form of 'schism'. Many of them divinize 'humans'. For instance, various groups consider historic figures—prophets, progeny of the prophet, prophet's companions, and saintly people as humans with supernatural powers. Based on this, a good deal of knowledge is constructed that advocates the 'miracle factor'. People do not think that such knowledge is exclusive of reason, evidence and logical justification. However, this is promoted with zest. Much literature is available in Pakistan which positions religious figures as super humans—completely the heroic portrayal of what exists in mythological literature. Construction of such discourse authenticates the beliefs of a fresh mind incapable of rationalizing what is going around.

**Not everybody everywhere thinks critically and reflectively. Most of the people in all parts of the world are just prone to indoctrination. How many of us do really think that where does this knowledge being imparted to us and indoctrinated or inculcated into our minds come from? What is the nature of knowledge that we impart to the people in our surroundings? Whether the knowledge is value-laden? Does it have any political or cultural agenda? These are the serious questions but, unfortunately, they are highly overlooked in Pakistani society.**

In Pakistan, hero-worship is a great dilemma. People do not think rationally about things, humans and occurrences. No matter, it is politics, religion, ethnicity or a language, we do idealize. English language is idealized. Political figures though they are dead or those alive but not performing well are earning fame for they have been idealized. Religious scholars in respective groups are heroes and whatever they preach is taken as absolute truth which is beyond any question or criticism. If done so, one has to face severe consequences. Criticizing even an ethnic figure can cause a great harm including loss of life. If one thinks of reforms in religion, one has to face the same challenges. So, this hero-worship or idealization of people, castes and ethnicities is dominantly controlling the ordinary people who are trapped mentally. Knowledge is being produced in bulk—the fabricated knowledge only to fit to the narratives of various



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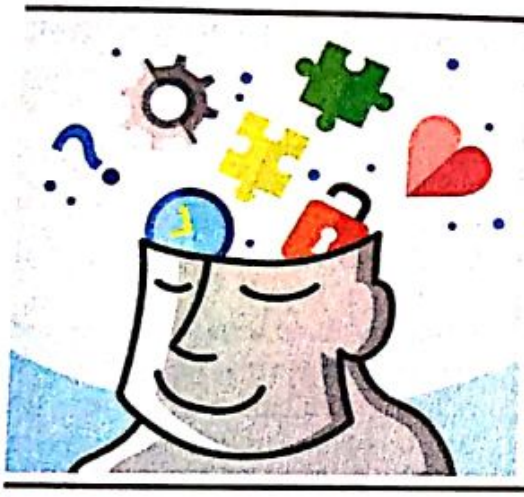
groups.

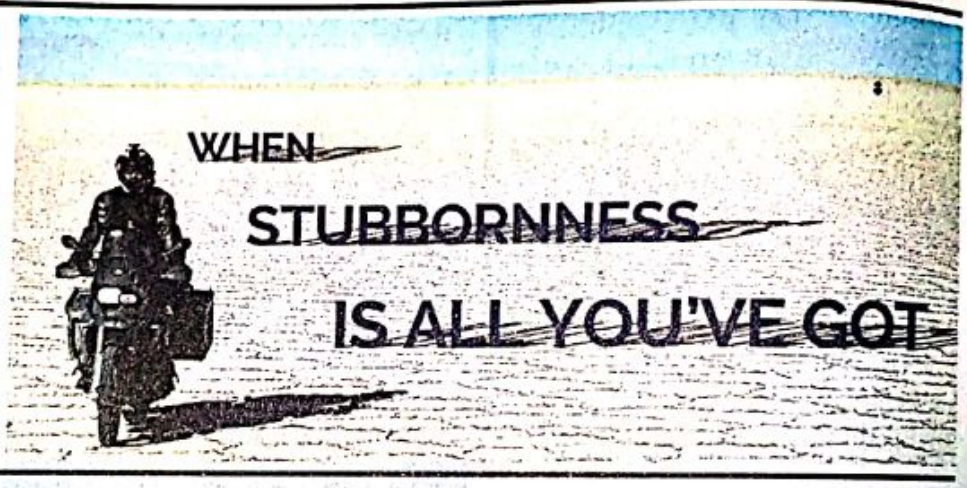
The case in Pakistan is not much different from classical Greece where knowledge and human experiences were not advanced, and people believed in each other's assertions. The statements of the wise then were taken as truth. For example, Aristotle being a scientist believed in Ptolemaic Model/ geocentric view of the universe where earth was thought to be the centre of universe. On inquiry, Aristotle asserted that since God lives up in the sky, He thus placed earth and human on it at the centre so that He (God) should monitor them more easily. It would have been difficult for God to watch the mankind if they had been in the corner. This explanation satisfied many people living in Greece and also others outside it. This view became so popular that it was taken up by Christianity and made a part of Bible. Aristotle became sacred. He started to be divinized. Analogously, the theologians are revered sacred in Pakistan. They have various explanations which can satisfy each group of people affiliated with their respective school of thought. They prove science out of scripture. Such science is lauded at best in Pakistan. For instance, at the time of Zia-ul-Haq's Islamisation process, 'Muslim Science' was invented which attempted to measure the 'spirituality level' of various Muslims. Many Muslim scientists took part with interest.

Though Aristotle's position came to be questioned later by Copernicus and Galileo with 'helio-centric view' of the universe and accepted by people in various parts of the world, it may take time for theological deconstruction in Pakistan. The theological explanations of reality and construction of knowledge based on this epistemic position obstructs people in Pakistan to find a way to critical thinking. The entire discourse is accountable for the irrationality whatsoever exists in Pakistan. However, when I think of 'metaphysical epistemology', people are found to be performing better and reflecting on reality quite effectively. For instance, Abdus Salam—a Nobel Prize winner scientist in Pakistan for his 'Grand Unification Theory' was a monotheist. And he clearly stated that his motivation behind 'unifying forces' was monotheism. However, method which was scientific in nature helped him and his atheistic fellow working on the same theory led both of them to the same conclusion.

Interestingly enough, leftists in Pakistan think of themselves as befitting the positivistic phase of intellectual development. But when it comes to reality, they are just seen to monopolize science, reason and evidence. In reality, 'Marxism' acts no different than a religious discourse. Marxists like theologians talk about fundamentals; in case of deviation, blasphemy is there for sure leading to exemption of the classical Marxist group thus dividing Marxists in Pakistan into groups. Knowledge in their groups is also major issue. For instance, most of the literature produced is anti-religion turning people into atheism. Feministic discourse under Marxist theory condemns 'patriarchy' whereas oppressive forms in their discourse are being ignored. Males have no say when it comes to a woman since woman is oppressed in Pakistan; therefore, in all cases her voice takes the lead. No matter it may be unjust to men sometimes. Marxist discourse is very tricky and contradictory in Pakistan. They promote atheism while at the same time preach the monotheistic spirituality found in mystic poets of Pakistan. They are divided in line with political and intellectual grounds. And construction of knowledge is done accordingly condemning each other for unjust production of ideas and censorship of truth.

We are basically unaware of the mechanisms involving construction of knowledge and truth. Having unawareness of historiography, we are submissive to the discourse which passes on to generations over the years. Nietzsche argued that the theologians have consciously attempted to create a discourse which helps them maintain their rule and authority





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over the people. Creating notions of 'sin', 'virtue' 'evil', 'divine curse', 'punishment' actually reinforces their authoritative position in the society. They have created such notions in order to control common folk. This is very much relatable in Pakistani context. The religious sermons delivered in Friday prayers, any occasions or regular meetings in mosques portray God as an entity to be feared. The entire discourse in religious teachings is made to control people, their behaviour and thinking. This is done by all religious and cultural groups starting right from family nourishment.

In addition, the fact that power constructs knowledge to promote an established narrative through pedagogy is also ignored by most people. To an ordinary mind, all knowledge whether cultural, religious or academic is value-free. The powers that be in all countries select the knowledge and fabricate it before it gets to the people. Americans, for instance, teach distorted history of Afghan war against the Soviet Union. The same goes for other countries including Pakistan. KK Aziz, a great historian in Pakistan, has explained in detail in his book 'Murder of History' that the knowledge in Pakistan is taught in distorted forms. The facts are fabricated. As a result, the children grow to be biased and illogical. Academic discourses are oppressive in nature. It is not only happening in schooling but also in colleges and universities. Since Pakistan has been an ex-colony under British imperialism, the discourses constructed have some traces of the colonial legacy. People think in terms of 'whiteness'. Racially discriminated attitudes are promoted; indigenous languages, cultures and knowledge are being destroyed in the name of progress and prosperity.

Given such detailed analysis of knowledge and its sources, we need to understand how far people in Pakistan are free to choose or think critically? As Nietzsche voiced that human beings are caged in social structure where not to speak of the free will, the system has taken even the 'will' of people. We do not will, we are conditioned. Human beings are totally controlled and conditioned under selective discourse which blocks their ways to think and reflect on what they practice in day-to-day life. The same is the condition in Pakistan. People are conditioned. They have not been given choices. They are imposed and indoctrinated. To escape this influence is very challenging for people. In given conditions, it is argued that we need to promote critical thinking among our children in family, schools and colleges and universities. Though what culture impresses on mind is lasting, it is yet possible to de-socialize people by helping them develop rational thinking based on evidence, reason and knowledge that is human-friendly. We need to question all oppressive discourses in all schools of thought existing in Pakistan which discriminate on the basis of race, ethnicity, colour, gender, religion, caste or status. Knowledge has to be neutral to its best. Knowledge has to be inclusive of all who live in the country. Truths need not be distorted to gain interests. I think Pakistan needs more serious efforts in contribution of knowledge shifting its attention from knowledge for commercial use and incentives as done by university professors and researchers in the form of research publications including dissertations to knowledge for human development. All discourses inspired by neo-liberal values are less useful and need to be understood as a menace to social structure in Pakistan. Fortunately enough, Pakistan has a potential to contribute and is contributing. It still needs more efforts in this part so as to leave real knowledge behind instead of leaving fabricated truths for coming generations.

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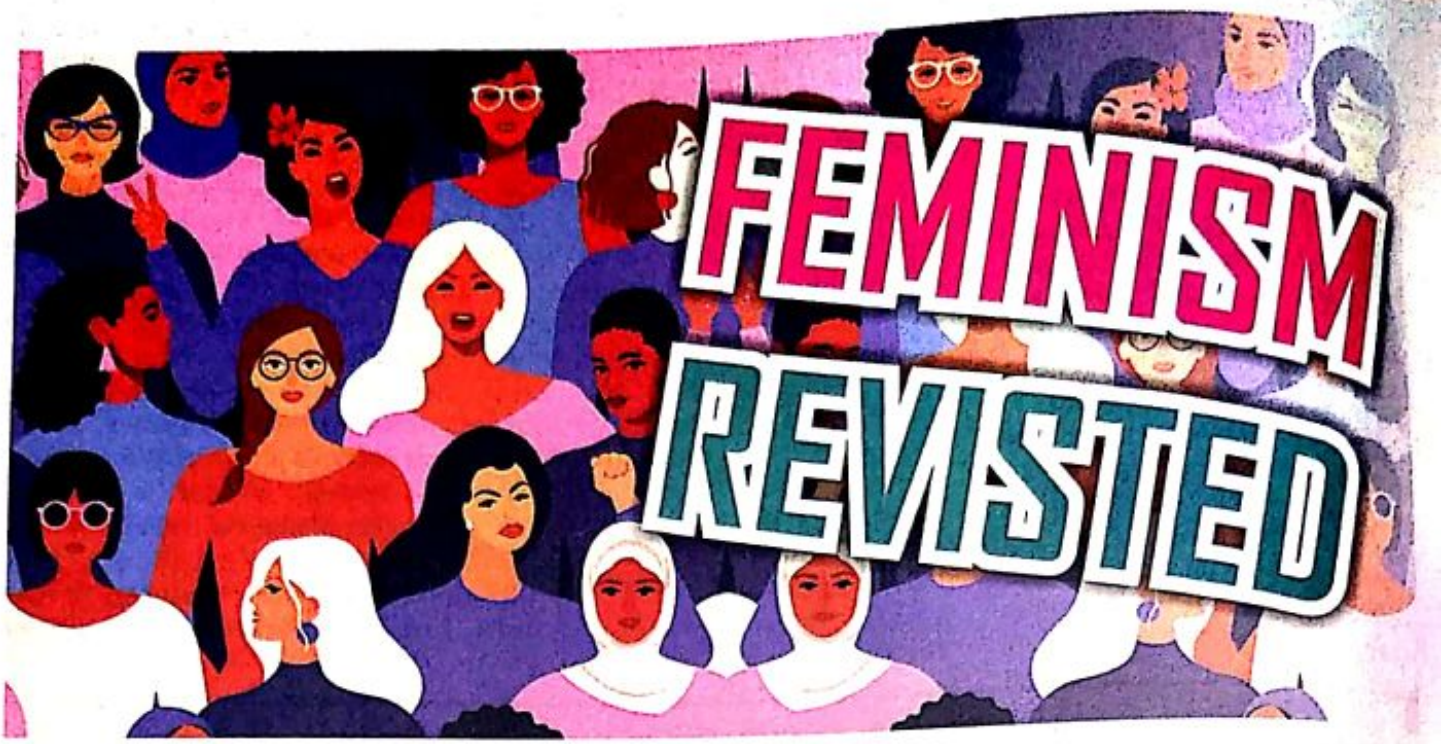


# FEMINISM REVISTED

Mawra Raja

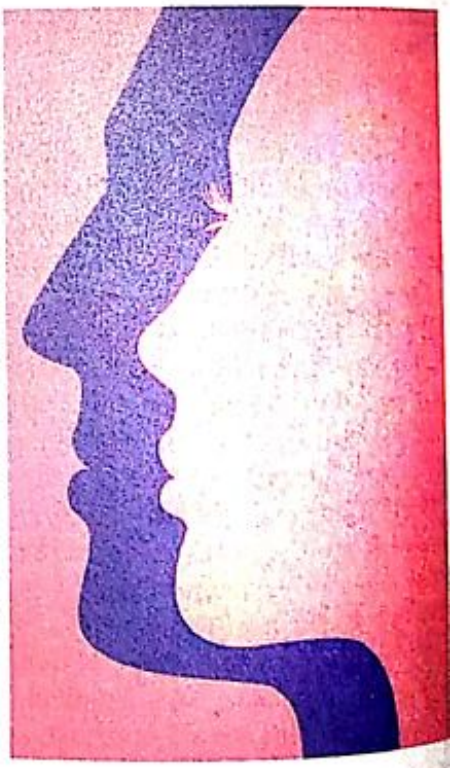
**Feminism has had many variants in Western world that are taking their premature and haphazard shape in Pakistan too. But, the real essence of feminism will be actualised if it is rightly defined, its far-stretched and misguided notions are depleted and measures such as the creation of women help centres with an aim to compile data on current roles of women, appreciation of their work and sensitisation of the society about these are taken. In this write-up, the author has discussed various aspects of the concept of feminism.**

### Introduction

Feminism is a Janus-faced concept as it is, on the one hand, the most over-used notion in the twenty-first century, and the least understood one, on the other. Its celebration comes from understandings such as women movement and freeing women from the long-standing patriarchy of men. It is an elephant-in-the-room-like myth that it is a women missionary working against vices of patriarchy, violence, abuse, suppression and subjugation. In fact, the truth for the overzealous, and the misinformed as well, is that feminism is at its minimum best a social, political, legal and personal commitment to stand up against societal structures that desensitize or un-address issues pertaining to women. And, at its best, it is a fruitful collective effort to minimize or eliminate prejudices and misconceptions about women and their sufferings from a given society.

### Liberal feminism and its influence on Pakistan

There is no disagreement that women have always been the centre-stage of feminism and their emancipation has always been the top-notch priority of feminist schools. The early stages of feminism that began with Mary Wollstonecraft's and John Stuart Mill's focus on liberating women from private spheres, and bringing them into public domain so that their participation could be felt in the corners





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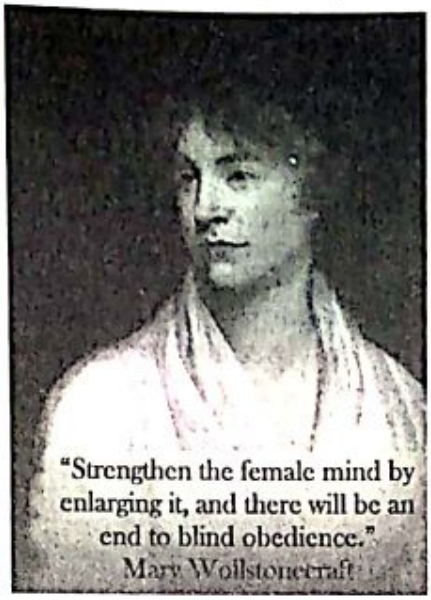
outside homes. To this end, Mill, in particular, suggested the economic freedom of women, which is a provision for them to make money and be part of the labour market so that their life choices are better. Given their new entry into a field of equality by asking for men like right to work, it was conceivable that there would be laws that will preclude women from enjoying equal wage for equal work. Therefore feminists from the first wave or liberal feminism argued for wage equality. Today, this wave of liberal feminism under the label of right to work is openly addressed by the working women and surreptitiously admired by stay-at-home women. In the context of Pakistan, by virtue of Article 25(2) of the country's constitution, women are not to be *"discriminated on the basis of sex"* and by constitutional construction this implies freedom from unequal wage from equal work.

**Radical feminism and its influence on Pakistan**

But the story of feminism does not end here. As there were radical voices asking for emancipation of women in the sex market. To this end the champion of Catherine MacKinnon comes to fore with her reading of society as a division between the patriarch men and the suppressed women whereby the bodies of the women were exploited for commercial profits. She draws our attention to camouflaged exploitation of women in sex market and propagates legislation that bans pornography because it projects the membership of sex market as a choice of free and radical woman and aloof those from the protection of law that may have suffered injury in such markets. Under Chapter II of Constitution of Pakistan 1973 entitled principles of policy one such radical provision is found as Article 37(g) is dedicated to preventing "prostitution, gambling and taking of injurious



"Strengthen the female mind by enlarging it, and there will be an end to blind obedience."
Mary Wollstonecraft

drugs, printing, publication, circulation and display of obscene literature and advertisements." Furthermore, by virtue of Article 38, the same basic necessities are not to be denied to those who cannot make a livelihood because of unemployment. Arguably sex workers are within its ambits, particularly if they join prostitution on account of unemployment. The legal protection does not exhaust here. In fact, under section 292 of Pakistan Penal Code, 1860, obscenity is a punishable offence with an imprisonment of 1 to 7 years or fine from 1 to 5 lacs or both. Furthermore under sections 21 and 22 of the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2016, adult and child pornography are punishable offences with an imprisonment that can be extended to 5 years or a fine of Rs.5 million or both.

**Cultural feminism and its influence on Pakistan**

And then there are women like Carol Gilligan who try to teach people that the presumption that ideals of justice are best understood by men alone are falsified; Or that men and women reach different judgements (not shorthand for value-judgements) on similar issues is limited. This is because men and women can tell when and where justice has been compromised or upheld. Their point of divergence is that men work out justice through rights-ethic whereas women do the same through care-ethics. But importantly they reach the same conclusion, that an offence is found or an acquittal is maintained. On this logic, one can say that the wrong with the long-pertaining presumption in English law that women give consent to irreversible consent in marriage can be revisited. This is because such an approach perceives marriage in terms of contractual terms alone whereby a woman once bargained in cannot be freed or forfeited. Thus once the right of man over the mind,

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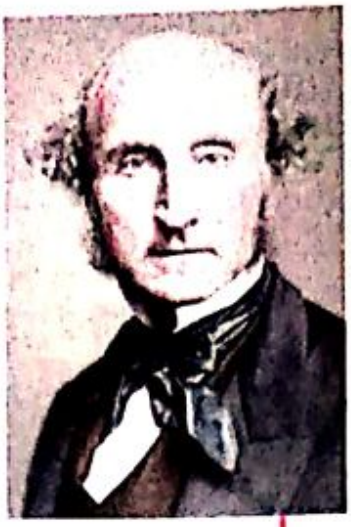
soul, body and emotion of the woman is established through marriage it is presumed to withstand, even if there is contrary evidence that the woman has given up emotionally. Thus, Gilligan's cultural feminism invites men to consider the limitations of their sense of justice by looking at the care-ethics. In this vein, it invites them to not presume that their women have consented to proximity in marriage when they have categorically refused it. Perhaps it were approaches like these that convinced the English judiciary to question the presumption of irreversible consent in marriage and the presumption of rape by a stranger. It also shaped the mind of Pakistani judiciary perhaps to redefine marriage in feminine ideals such as a bond in love and mutual trust between consenting heterosexual adults for which the presence of a wali was not a prerequisite. It further sensitized the men of our society that for the dissolution of marriage (that is for a khula suit), it was enough for a woman to show her dislike for her spouse and she needed not go into establishing the traditional grounds found in Muslim Family Law Ordinance, 1961, for a successful suit. This is because what could not sustain in love and affection would not sustain through writing.

**"WHAT EVER CRUSHES INDIVIDUALITY IS DESPOTISM, NO MATTER WHAT NAME IT IS CALLED."**

**~ John Stuart Mill**



**Postmodernism and way forward for Pakistan**

There is another strand of feminism that draws distinction between sex and gender to empathize society to things over which one exerts no control such as being born as a male or female and those things over which one exerts autonomy such as deciding how to dress up and style oneself up. The aim of this is to discourage name-calling authoritative women as mini men and stereotyping them as men wana-be. As in a society like ours the clearest of ideas are likely to be misconstrued or tainted because of personal biases and gains; feminism should not be projected as an attack on the integrity of men neither should it be used as such a tool. Rather it should be used as an effective tool to make society which includes men, laws, government and civil society empathise with the situation of women by creating forums for women to develop them economically, socially, culturally and emotionally. Thus, there should be women centres across the country. At first, they should investigate the kinds of roles played by women in our society. Secondly, they should work out the social or political locations women are part of, or are excluded from. Thirdly, they should keep a record of the extent to which roles have been valued or devalued. Fourthly, they should figure out if the experiences or problems of women have been ignored or undervalued. Fifthly they should collect data on whether women have been denied equal respect for their differences. Once this data collection has been maintained, these centres should offer free courses for men and women to educate them about the ways in which women have been marginalized and how the co-operation of the two sexes can bridge the gap between the two.

Now supposedly if the women centres found out that the bulk of Pakistani society are home-makers then instead of raising a voice for empowering women through engaging them in workplaces, the next step should be to find out the extent to which their home-making role is valued and appreciated by society as a whole. On the other hand, if it is found out to undervalued, then its stimuli should be located before a suggestion for a shift to work on empowerment is endorsed. The same method should ensue if the centres found the contrary. This way a culture of respect for their existing or desirable roles will take foothold in our society and misconceptions about women issues will be minimized, if not totally eradicated.

**Conclusion**

In sum, it can be said that feminism has had many variants in Western world that are taking their premature and haphazard shape in Pakistan too, but the real essence of feminism will be actualised if feminism is rightly defined, its far-stretched and misguided notions are depleted and measures such as the creation of women help centres with the aim to compile data on current roles of women, appreciation of their work and sensitisation of the society about these is done.



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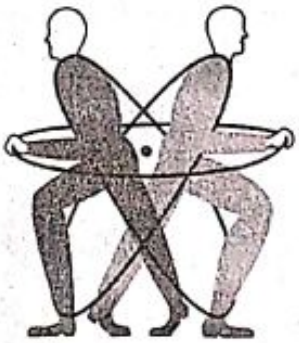
# Disarmament

## *A less-talked-about subject*

The term "disarmament" can be defined as the reduction of nuclear artillery and arms by a country or a group of countries. It is a phenomenon of paramount importance which calls for outstanding valour and gallant efforts on the part of countries to reduce the size of the arsenals they have. Since analysts believe that the world is moving towards the Third World War, countries manoeuvring their ways into acme of economic development and striving for the achievement of the balance of power, it is beyond the realms of possibility for countries to contain the armament.

Afaque Ahmed

Despite the fact that the dimension of waging a war has veered off from using nuclear weapons, as economic warfare between countries over the years has gained momentum, great fear resulting from the eventuality of outbreak of war remains there. Possibility of being attacked and snatching off of their sovereignty is what makes countries eschew compromise on the expansion of atomic weapons. However, the expansion of nuclear arms is not the solution either. If collective and concerted efforts are taken toward the direction, the day shall not be far away when there will be less and less concentration of lethal atomic weapons.



At a time when violence is growing at a faster pace around the world, disarmament assumes greater importance because the world cannot sustain the use of nuclear weapons and outbreak of a big war. Ban Ki-Moon, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, rightly says, "Nuclear disarmament is the only sane path to a safer world." Although the topic of disarmament has not yet attracted much public attention—the voice of the youth is particularly missing—its fruits and dividends cannot be denied, in an effort to save the planet from complete annihilation.

Much has been talked about disastrous implications of climate change, economic distress and social inequality, and it is really a matter of utmost happiness and pride that the youth have risen to show their concern about their own life and that of the coming generations. Of such youth, the name of the teen Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg is in the limelight. However, it is equally disappointing to see the same youth off the subject of disarmament.

Scores of people have died throughout the world as a result of escalating aggression among the countries due to deployment of nuclear weapons. Developed countries have ravaged the developing ones in a bid to wield their authority over their natural resources. Countries that cannot fight, for they lack weapons, easily surrender to the aggressor, and those that have war artillery and weapons and find themselves able to fight a war, fight for long, though at the cost of millions of lives in the name of 'patriotism'.

Today, Yemen has been ravaged by the conflict between the Saudi-led coalition and the Iran-aligned Houthi rebels, and it constitutes an example of loss of life due to the potential use of arms. Stricken by lethal diseases and famine, the poor country is said to be on the peak of humanitarian crisis. As



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## United Nations Youth Champions for Disarmament Training Programme

United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres has made a major push to empower youth, recognizing their role as the ultimate force for change and noting that they have proven their power in support of the cause of disarmament. The General Assembly also reaffirmed the important and positive contribution that young people can make to the promotion and attainment of sustainable development and peace, unanimously adopting a new resolution titled "Youth, disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control".

To that end, the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, with generous financial support from the Government of Germany, is calling on young people to apply for an innovative learning programme aimed at empowering them to work for disarmament in their communities. The programme offers 10 scholarships for young people between the ages of 18 and 24 from across the globe.

The Office for Disarmament Affairs is seeking youth who are motivated to use their talents to help raise awareness and promote change for a more peaceful and secure world. In addition to young people interested in international affairs, the programme encourages those with a background in history, sciences, economics, languages, film, media, dance, song, theatre, visual art, creative writing or other fields to submit applications. The intention is to bring together an eclectic and geographically diverse group of advocates for disarmament.

The 10 selected youth champions will receive training in general principles of disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control through online courses and a two-week in-person study tour in Vienna, Geneva, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They will exchange ideas with disarmament experts from think tanks, civil society organizations and the diplomatic field, and develop a plan to engage their communities on issues related to disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control. The Office for Disarmament Affairs will provide support, including mentoring and guidance, throughout the programme.

much as a hundred thousand deaths have been reported since the start of war in 2015 and nearly 20,000 people massacred in 2019. Half of the population of the country, according to the sources of UN, confronts the menace of famine, these days. On the other hand, the prospect of war between the United States and Iran is looming large on the Middle East, as the exchange of drone strikes and aerial assaults between the two have been ongoing, massacring scores of people of both sides, and inflicting miseries and afflictions on the citizens of Iraq. In one such strike, General Qasem Soleimani, the head of Iran's elite Quds Force, was killed. Sorrowfully, in a rage to avenge his killing, Iran mistook a Ukrainian plane Boeing 737 as a US plane, and shot it down, killing 170 innocent passengers.

Even today, numerous conflicts involving the persecution of humans are continuing across the globe. Conflict between the Taliban and the US-backed Afghan government, civil war between two strong regional groups inside Sudan and lethal scuffles in Syria involving the US forces, Assad regime, Kurdish armed group, Turkey and its allies, and a bevy of others, have caused bloodshed that has resulted in millions of casualties. These conflicts are a manifestation of how the world can be bombed to ashes within minutes because of the potential growth of nuclear ammunitions.

This delineates the fact that the current generation of humans is on the verge of ruination. The state of affairs demands urgent attention, especially of youth, towards the most daunting threat. It is a call for urgency that the youth must swing into action to urge the United Nations to force the war-mongers to forestall the indulgence in arms build-up, lay down their arms and enter into agreements to give way to peace and tranquility. The youth, who are calling for the immediate action on climate change, fearing its implications, should likewise know the implications of the nuclear wars.

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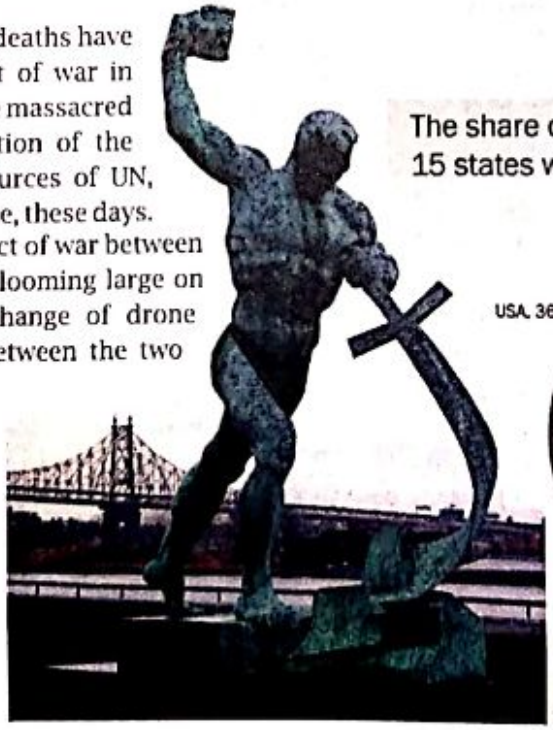
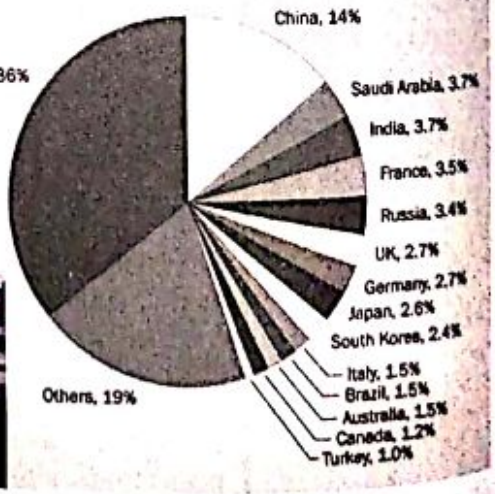


The share of world military expenditure of the 15 states with the highest spending in 2018

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# INDIA South Asia's Hegemon?

Amjed Jaaved

At India's bidding, smaller countries in South Asia toe the Indian line in regard to the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation and other international forums. In 2005, Washington showed its intention 'to help India become a major world power in the 21st century (K. Alan Kronsstadt, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, India-US Relations updated, February 13, 2007, p.4). It was later re-affirmed by US ambassador David Mulford in a US embassy press release dated March 31, 2005. This resolve later translated into modification of domestic laws in order to facilitate export of sensitive military technology to India. The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) also relaxed its controls to begin exports to India for its civilian nuclear reactor (enabling the country to divert resources to military use).

Raja Mohan, Shyam Saran and several others point out that India follows Kautliya's *mandala* (concentric, asymptotic and intersecting circles, inter-relationships) doctrine in foreign policy. It is akin to Henry Kissinger's 'spheres of influence'. According to this doctrine, all neighbouring countries are actual or potential enemies. However, short-term policy should be based on common volatile, dynamic and mercurial interests, like intersecting portion of two circles in Mathematical Set Theory.

**India's current policy**

India's former foreign secretary, Shyam Saran, in his book 'How India Sees the World' says, "Kautliyan [Chanakyan] template would say the options for India are *sandhi* conciliation; *asana* neutrality; and *yana*, victory through war. One could add *dana*, buying allegiance through gifts; and *bheda*, sowing discord. The option of *yana*, of course, would be the last in today's world' (p. 64, How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century). It appears that Kautliya's and Saran's last-advised option is India's first option, with regard to China and Pakistan, nowadays.

Raja Mohan elucidates India's ambition, in terms of Kauliya's *mandala*, to emerge as South Asian hegemon in following words:

"India's grand strategy divides the world into three concentric circles. In the first, which encompasses the immediate neighbourhood, India has sought primacy and a veto over actions of outside powers. In the second, which encompasses the so-called extended neighourhood stretching across Asia and Indian Ocean littoral, India has sought to balance other powers and prevent them from undercutting its interests. In the third, which includes the entire global stage, India has tried to take its place as one of the great powers, a key player in international peace and security. (C. Raja Mohan, India and the Balance of Power, Foreign Affairs, July-August 2006).

Henry Kissinger views Indian ambitions in the following words:

"Just as the early American leaders developed in the

**Determined to surpass the United States in GDP (gross domestic product) by year 2027, today's India is fast becoming a US proxy against rising China. India is opposed to China's Belt and Road Initiative and it also uses its aid, trade and border contiguity to obstruct Chinese influence in Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh.**

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Monroe Doctrine concept for America's special role in the Western Hemisphere, so India has established in practice a special positioning in the Indian Ocean region between East Indies and the Horn of Africa. Like Britain with respect to Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, India strives to prevent the emergence of a dominant power in this vast portion of the globe. Just as early American leaders did not seek approval of the countries of the Western Hemisphere with respect to the Monroe Doctrine, so India in the region of its special strategic interests conducts its policy on the basis of its own definition of a South Asian order." (Henry Kissinger, World Order (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2014, p. 205).

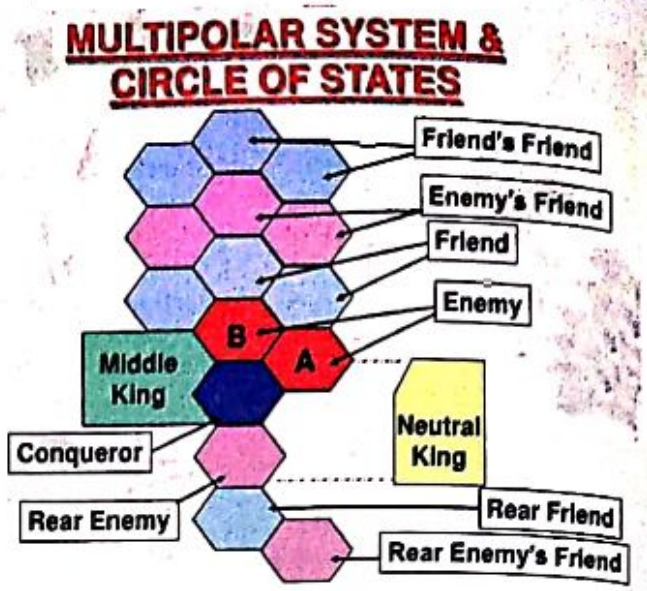
Zbigniew Brzeszinsky takes note of India's ambition to rival China in the following words:

"Indian strategies speak openly of greater India exercising a dominant position in an area ranging from Iran to Thailand. India also positions itself to control the Indian Ocean militarily, its naval and air power programs point clearly in that direction as do politically-guided efforts to establish for India strong positions, with geostrategic implications in adjoining Bangladesh and Burma [Myanmar]." (Brzeszinsky, Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power).

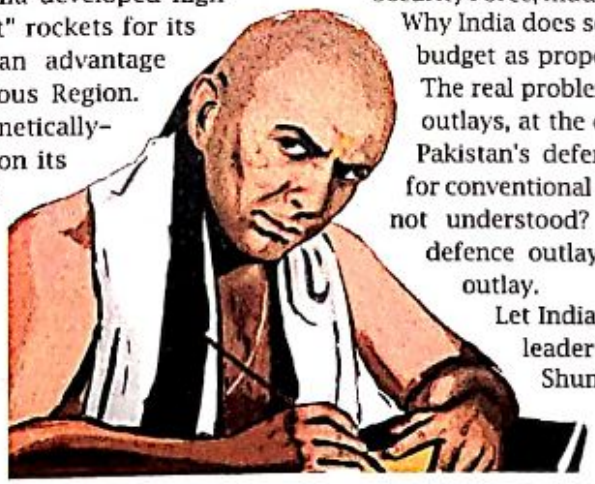
Robert Kaplan, in his book, 'Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and Future of American Power', argues that the geopolitics of the twenty-first century will hinge on the Indian Ocean. USA's new protégé is India. To woo India firmly into its fold, USA offered to sell India US$ 3 billion (per one unit) Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) and Patriot Advance Capability (PAC-3) missile defence systems as an alternative to Russian S-400 system. India ditched Russia from whom it had decided to purchase five S-400s air defence systems at the cost of US$5.4 billion.

With tacit US support, India is getting tougher with China. There was a 73-day standoff on the Doklam (Donglang in Chinese) plateau near the Nathula Pass on Sikkim border in 2017. Being at a disadvantage vis-à-vis India, China was compelled to resolve the stand-off through negotiations. In later period, China developed high-altitude "electromagnetic catapult" rockets for its artillery units to liquidate Indian advantage there, as also in Tibet Autonomous Region. China intends to mount a magnetically-propelled high-velocity rail-gun on its 10,000-ton-class missile destroyer 055 being built.

India's ambition to emerge as South Asia's hegemon is reflected in its successive defence budgets. Aside from showcased marginal increase in defence budget, the three services have been asked to devise a five-year model plan for capital acquisitions. The Indian navy wants a 200-ship strong fleet by 2027. Navy Chief Admiral Karambir Singh had, in December 2019, pointed out that China added over 80 ships in the last five years. Navy wants to procure six new conventional submarines under Project 75-I and 111 Naval Utility Helicopters to replace the vintage fleet of Chetak choppers. Indian air force wants to procure 114 new fighters for the IAF besides the 36 Rafales ordered in 2015, still in the process.




To hoodwink general reader, India deflates its defence expenditure through clever stratagems. It publishes its 'demands for grants for defence services' separately from demands for grants of civil ministries that include MoD. She clubs military pensions in civil estimates. There are several other quasi-defence provisions that are similarly shoved in civil estimates. Such concealed defence provisions include public-sector undertakings under MoD like dockyards, machine tool industries (Mishra Dhatu Nigham), and Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited, besides space-and-nuke-research projects, border and strategic roads and a host of paramilitary forces (Border Security Force, Industrial Reserve Force, etc).



Why India does so? It does so to 'lower' its defence budget as proportion to Gross National Product. The real problem is that a hike in India's defence outlays, at the cost of social sectors, ratchets up Pakistan's defence expenditure. Spending spree for conventional weapons between nuclear peers is not understood? Each year, increase in India's defence outlay ratchets up Pakistan's defence outlay.

Let India lower her expenditure first! Be a leader to compel Pakistan to follow suit. Shun hegemonic designs, at least for the time being.



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# OIC and Two Big Challenges of the MUSLIM WORLD

Mehboob Hussain Babar

**Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is the only representative of the Muslim world, grouping 57 states from four continents—nearly one-fourth of the total membership of the United Nations. Pakistan, a country of around 210 million people, has a vital role to play in the world affairs, specifically those of the Muslim world owing to the status conferred on it by its strategic and geographic location. For the last many decades, Muslim Ummah and Islam remained under stress from many sides. The twentieth century saw the aggression against Muslims, and their collective slaughter in wars and conflicts, prompted by an insatiable hunger of the world powers to occupy resources of the Muslim world and subjugate it.**

Since its inception, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has many challenges to deal with, but Palestine and Kashmir remain the most dominant issues on its agenda. However, it is also true that it has been unable to pressure the world into solving these issues.

### Indian-Occupied Kashmir

Kashmir issue dates back to the unjustified division of the Indian Subcontinent, carried out by the Radcliffe Boundary Commission that unfairly gave the Muslim-majority region of Gurdaspur to India, thereby giving it a land route to enter Kashmir. This was like sowing the seeds of discord between the two newly-emerged states. Both Pakistan and India have fought three wars—and a mini war, according to some experts—over Kashmir. Now, especially after India's forced annexation of the occupied valley through revocation of articles 370 and 35A of the Indian Constitution on August 05 last year, it has become a nuclear flashpoint. All the successive Pakistani governments have strongly advocated for the resolution of Kashmir issue according to the UN resolutions. In fact, several rounds of bilateral discussions took place between India and Pakistan in 1964, 1972 and 1999 to settle the Kashmir dispute but all efforts proved futile as India always used such talks to hoodwink the world that it is engaged with Pakistan to resolve this bilateral issue—which it actually is not.

دورة 46 لمجلس وزراء الخارجية لمنظمة التعاون الاسلامي
46th Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of Islamic Coope
46ème Session du Conseil des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères de l'Organisation de la Coopération

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### Pakistan's Efforts

Pakistan has persistently highlighted the Kashmir issue on all available international forums like the United Nations and the OIC, and urged the world community to help settle this issue. It is due to Pakistan's efforts that Kashmir has always been high on OIC agenda and been a part and parcel of OIC's all resolutions and conferences. It was the result of sustained efforts of Pakistan that the 'Contact Group on Jammu & Kashmir' was formed in 1994 with an aim to coordinate policy of the OIC on Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Islamic leaders unanimously "condemned flagrant violations of human rights in Kashmir and called on member states to take all necessary measures to convince India to put an immediate end to these violations" in a resolution passed during the 9th Islamic Summit held in Doha, Qatar, in 2000. The resolution also called for "the people of Kashmir to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination". While addressing all the states of OIC in Makkah summit 2019, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, said: "The people of Kashmir must also have their right to self-determination; us as a body must stand against the oppression happening with the Muslim world." The OIC General Secretariat also urged for an immediate resumption of dialogue process between Pakistan and India "which is a prerequisite for development, peace and stability in South Asia". On Pakistan's request, the OIC called an emergency meeting of its Contact Group on Jammu and Kashmir on 6th of August 2019. The OIC expressed "deep concern" over the recent developments in the Indian-Occupied Kashmir, mainly the revocation of the special status of the Occupied valley. The Contact Group reaffirmed that Jammu and Kashmir is an internationally-recognized dispute, pending on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council. The Contact Group also stressed upon India again to allow access to the OIC Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission (IPHRC) and other international rights bodies on the Indian-Occupied Jammu and Kashmir in order to independently verify the gross and blatant human rights violations. According to various human rights organizations, thousands of people have been killed in the ongoing conflict in the Kashmir valley since 1947.

### Challenge of Palestine

Due to the importance of its natural resources and geopolitical significance, the history of Middle East region remained turbulent in the past and still, in the 21"century, it has many key issues. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the world's longest-running conflicts over a territory. It is a 100-year-old issue between two self-determination movements—the Jewish Zionist and the Palestinian nationalist. After the breakup of Ottoman Empire in the World War I, British took control of the area. Tensions between Israel and Palestine broke out when Britain asked to establish a "national home" for the Jewish people in Palestine under the Balfour Declaration. In 1947,

the UN passed a resolution for Palestine to be split into two separate Jewish and Arab states, with Jerusalem becoming an international city. This plan was accepted by the Jewish leaders but rejected by the Arab community and situation turned from bad to worse paving the way for the first Arab-Israel war in 1948. After the 1948 Arab-Israel war, the Holy Land was divided into three parts: the State of Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. So, for now, two more wars—of 1967 and 1973—have been fought between the Arab states and Israel over Palestine. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is still a problem and is awaiting solution. Several peace agreements have been failed since then, including the Camp David Accord, Madrid Accord and Oslo Peace Agreements, while the number of Jewish settlements in the West Bank has been multiplied, more and more Palestinian lands have been taken over, and tension has increased in the occupied territories.

### Role of OIC for the Palestine

OIC played a very crucial role in the issue of Palestine and proved a source of unity of the Ummah where they can take steps for their betterment. All the OIC summits and conferences of foreign ministers discussed the issue of Palestine and showed their determination to stand with the people of Palestine until they get their independence and due right of territory. At the time of 10th and 11th



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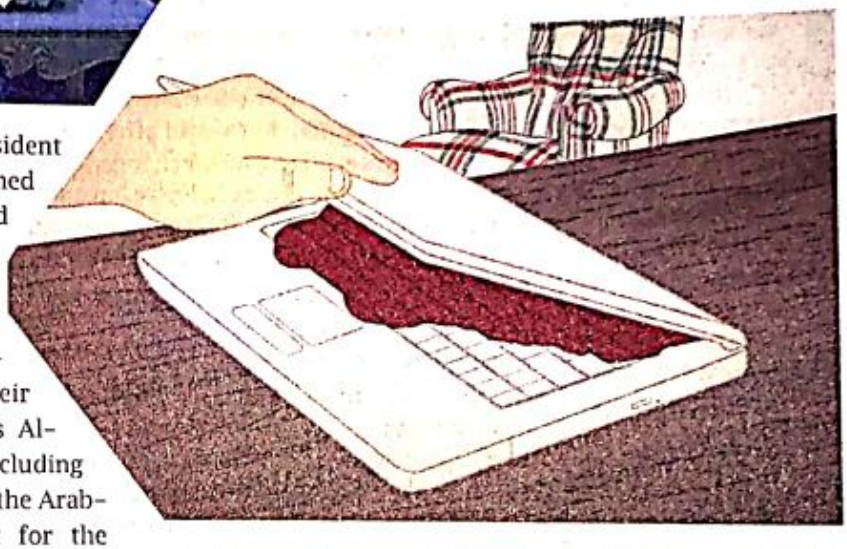
Islamic summits of the OIC, the need was reaffirmed "to establish an independent Palestinian State" and seek solution of the Palestine problem according to the will of the people of Palestine. After the escalation in violence by Israel in the occupied territories and imposition of restrictions on access to the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, an extraordinary summit was held in Jakarta in

2016 upon the request of Palestinian President Mehmoud Abbas. In this summit, OIC "reaffirmed the resolutions adopted by ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Islamic Summit and by Organization of Islamic Cooperation Council of Foreign Ministers; reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to their independent state of Palestine, with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital on the cause of Palestine, including the cause of the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and the Arab-Israeli conflict and reaffirmed full support for the 'National Unity Government' under the leadership of the Palestinian President, which comes as a culmination of the implementation of the Cairo and Makkah agreements and the Doha Declaration." Moreover, OIC "vociferously rejected and condemned" the Trump's "deplorable action" to move the US embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 2017. Furthermore, in its final communiqué, OIC summit, held in Makkah in May 2019, condemned "any illegal and irresponsible decision that recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel." The OIC summit reiterated "rejection of any proposal for peace settlement that does not accord or conform to the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people." In Makkah summit, OIC also refused to accept any decision to change legal and demographic status of Golan Heights, especially the US decision to recognize Israeli sovereignty over the territory as Trump administration recognized Israel's sovereignty over Syria's Golan Heights in March 2019. Prime Minister Imran Khan during his keynote speech at 14th OIC Summit in Makkah said: "Pakistan supports the two-state solution recognizing East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine." He echoed Pakistan's strong stance to resolve Kashmir and Palestine disputes, adding that peaceful struggle of the people of Kashmir and Palestine must not be labelled as terrorism. The Pakistani passport is the only one in the world which says that its holder can travel anywhere on it, except Israel. During an event at the Asian Society in New York City, held in September 2019, PM Imran Khan said that Pakistan will not recognise Israel until there is a homeland for the Palestinian.

**Conclusion**

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation has so far miserably failed to liberate the long-persecuted Kashmiris and Palestinians from the



yoke of imperial India and Israel. The organisation of the divided Muslim countries, without any practical action, has only issued rhetorical statements in favour of Kashmir and Palestine. A number of summits and conferences have been held for the Kashmir and Palestine but no fruitful result has ever been produced. Now, it seems that the Kashmiris and Palestinians will face more persecution because the Middle East is gripped in political turmoil, rampaging militants and an ongoing Shia-Sunni schism which make the OIC more impotent and divided. The organisation should be made more powerful and effectual in all spheres of international affairs. Above all, all Muslim states should shun acrimony amongst themselves and gather the courage to work together to sort out the issues.

*The writer is a member of staff.*

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# Social Media and International Relations

Shamsa Khalid

Social media is penetrating everyone's life. The word media is derived from 'medium' which means a source of information and communication. Social media is the collection of websites and application that enable users to create and share content or to participate in social networking. The social networks are usually available in multiple languages and enable users to create online communities and share information, ideas, personal messages and other content with others. Followings are few social media platforms: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Google Plus, LinkedIn, Pinterest, Reddit.

Social media is affecting not only a person's life but also the country's fate. It is increasingly used as a means of communication between states. Diplomats and political leaders are ever more relying on Twitter in their daily practice to communicate with their counterparts.

According to IR theorist and author, David Bollier "The internet and other information technologies are no longer a peripheral force in the conduct of world affairs but a powerful engine for change."

Over the last decade, we have seen social media help create radical change and shift countries towards equality and democracy, such as the role of Twitter in the 2010-11 Arab Spring. Researchers also credit social media for bringing many causes to the attention of mass audience like Syria's refugee crisis

More recently, we have also seen the role social media plays in constructing narratives for the audience at home. Social media posts by state representatives reflect and frame state identity and how a state wishes to be recognized by others.

The Trump presidency has given us a robust selection of Twitter diplomacy examples, as heated exchanges have played out between government officials and foreign dignitaries for the world to follow, and all in 120 characters or less.

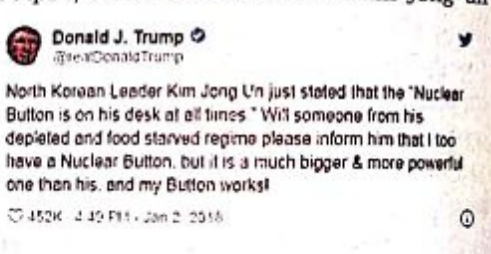
Followings are the examples how twitter is interfering in the state affairs.

**US and North Korea**

The most recent example is the escalation in the use of hostile language between Trump and North Korea's Kim Jong-un. North Korea unilaterally withdrew from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in January 2003. In September 2017, it conducted a test of what it claimed was a thermonuclear weapon after which it threatened the United States. On Jan 2018, US President Donald Trump also threatened NK of a nuclear war.

The warning shot came a day after the New Year's Day address by North Korea's Kim, in which he said that his country's nuclear weapons can reach anywhere in the United States and threatened that he has a nuclear button on his desk.

In April, North Korean leader Kim Jong-un


Donald J. Trump
@realDonaldTrump

North Korean Leader Kim Jong Un just stated that the "Nuclear Button is on his desk at all times." Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger & more powerful one than his, and my Button works!

452K 4:49 PM - Jan 2, 2018

announced a halt to all nuclear and ICBM tests. On 12 June 2018, Kim met with US President Donald Trump in Singapore, the first face-to-face meeting between leaders of North Korea and the United States in history. Late last year, the NK resumed medium-range missile tests before promising a "Christmas gift" to America in response to stalled negotiations. Trump responded by calling Kim "Rocket Man" again, and threatening North Korea on Twitter, writing that Kim will "lose everything" if he "acts in a hostile way."

**US and Iran**

President Trump's Iran policy doesn't seem to



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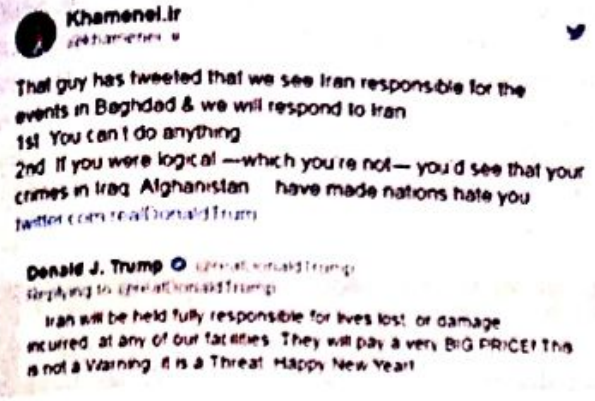
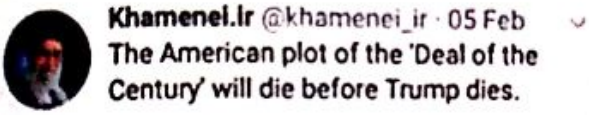
be working out very well.
Since he pulled the United States out of the nuclear deal brokered by the Obama administration, Iran has both resumed its nuclear programme and found new ways to stir up trouble in the region. Iran launched rocket attack


Khamenei.ir
That guy has tweeted that we see Iran responsible for the events in Baghdad & we will respond to Iran
1st You can't do anything
2nd If you were logical —which you're not— you'd see that your crimes in Iraq Afghanistan have made nations hate you
Donald J. Trump
Iran will be held fully responsible for lives lost or damage incurred at any of our facilities. They will pay a very BIG PRICE! This is not a Warning, it is a Threat. Happy New Year!




on a base that housed American troops in Iraq, killing an American contractor. The US blamed an Iran-backed group of militants for the killing. Tensions continued to rise on New Year's Eve, when Iran-backed protesters stormed the US embassy in Baghdad. Trump tweeted that Iran would be held responsible for any lives lost, threatening that the nation would pay a "BIG PRICE!"
Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, responded a day later, tweeting, "You can't do anything."
Recently, tensions continue to grow after US president Donald Trump ordered the killing of Iranian Major General Qassem Soleimani. And they are playing out publicly among world leaders and diplomats on Twitter.
On January 04, Iran's supreme leader threatened to retaliate using the hashtag #SevereRevenge. People tweeted against the US leader using the same hashtag. The next day, Trump tweeted that the United States had identified potential targets for new strikes, and that the list included cultural sites. Two days later, Iran's foreign minister Javad Zarif tweeted that targeting such sites is a breach of international law that could amount to war crimes.
The US president again used Twitter to notify Congress of his intention to wage war against Iran if it attacks the United States. In response, the Foreign Affairs Committee,

Khamenei.ir @khamenei_ir · 05 Feb
The so-called plan of the 'Deal of the Century' is #foolish, because it will definitely NOT have any result.
It is foolish to come and sit, spend money, invite, create an uproar, and unveil a plan that is doomed to failure.
52
376
1,649

which is controlled by Democrats, used the platform to remind the president that only Congress has the power to declare a war.
A heating exchange of tweets is going on between the leaders of both countries. Trump is showing sympathy with Iranian people through this channel. He is also tweeting in Farsi language to influence the Iranian people. The Iranian Supreme leader is also commenting on the "deal of the century, using twitter.

**Conclusion**

International relations as a discipline has only recently begun to engage with the growth of social media and its implications for global politics. But if the current climate is anything to go by, social media is well on the way to disrupting the traditional channels and methods of diplomacy.

**The war of narratives and the role of social media**

Social media is playing a pivotal role in ging about the war of narratives. David akes in his book War in 140 characters mentions social media in reshaping the conflict in the twenty- According to him, social media is an important media has transformed the way that wars are consumed." He argues that modern warfare is the media is the battlefield. The main difference modern war of narratives is that the battlefield in the traditional warfare was accessible only to the militants and the war was fought between the armies of the two states. However, the battlefield of the war of narratives (social media) is accessible to nearly everyone and this war is not confined to the milita nts. The accessibility of social media to a large number of audience has made the war of narratives more popular, enhanced and prolonged. The virtual bullets are shot in the form of a certain narrative and are made to hit its target through social media. Thus, social media has changed the nature of warfare and has introduced the war of narratives. Social media has played a pivotal role in propagating different propagandas and giving rise to the war of narratives. The role of social media in manipulating the 2016 US elections is not hidden from anyone. An Islamophobic leader was purposely made popular on social media through fake accounts and tweets. Likewise, the incident in Christchurch also reflects how social media brought about a war of narratives. Although the incident involves the use of physical techniques of warfare, yet the live coverage of the incident on Facebook makes it deadlier and bloodier. Similarly, the "#MeToo movement" was initially an attempt to provide women a platform where they can freely speak about the harassment they had been facing for long. Unfortunately, this movement is used as a tool to manifest one's own agenda, promote sexism and to inflict a war of narratives against the opposite sex.

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**Although laws are meant to thwart forced conversions, laws of religious freedom in India are generally known as "anti-conversion laws". And, the ruling BJP is making all-out efforts to enforce such laws throughout the country. UK government's Independent Advisory Group on Country Information (IAGCI) in its report titled "Country Policy and Information Note India: Religious minorities" says that these laws are "one-sided, only concerned about conversions away from Hinduism but not toward Hinduism." BJP's former president and currently his country's Minister for Home Affairs, Amit Shah, keeps on advocating for a nationwide anti-conversion law. Moreover, in April 2005, another BJP member—now India's Minister for Defence—Rajnath Singh had also called for banning religious conversion in India so as to preserve the so-called communal harmony in the Indian society, critics have termed such a policy as tantamount to curbing fundamental religious freedoms. It must also be noted that the laws that are presumably to protect Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes against discrimination and oppression cannot be called successful as the tendency to misuse the provisions of the Act against innocent people—a matter the Supreme Court of India had itself admitted and had ordered that "the Act cannot be converted into a charter for exploitation or oppression by any unscrupulous person or by police for extraneous reasons against other citizens as has been found on several occasions. ... Any harassment of an innocent citizen, irrespective of caste or religion, is against the guarantee of the Constitution."**

# Persecution of Minorities in India-II

## The Myth of Secular India Busted

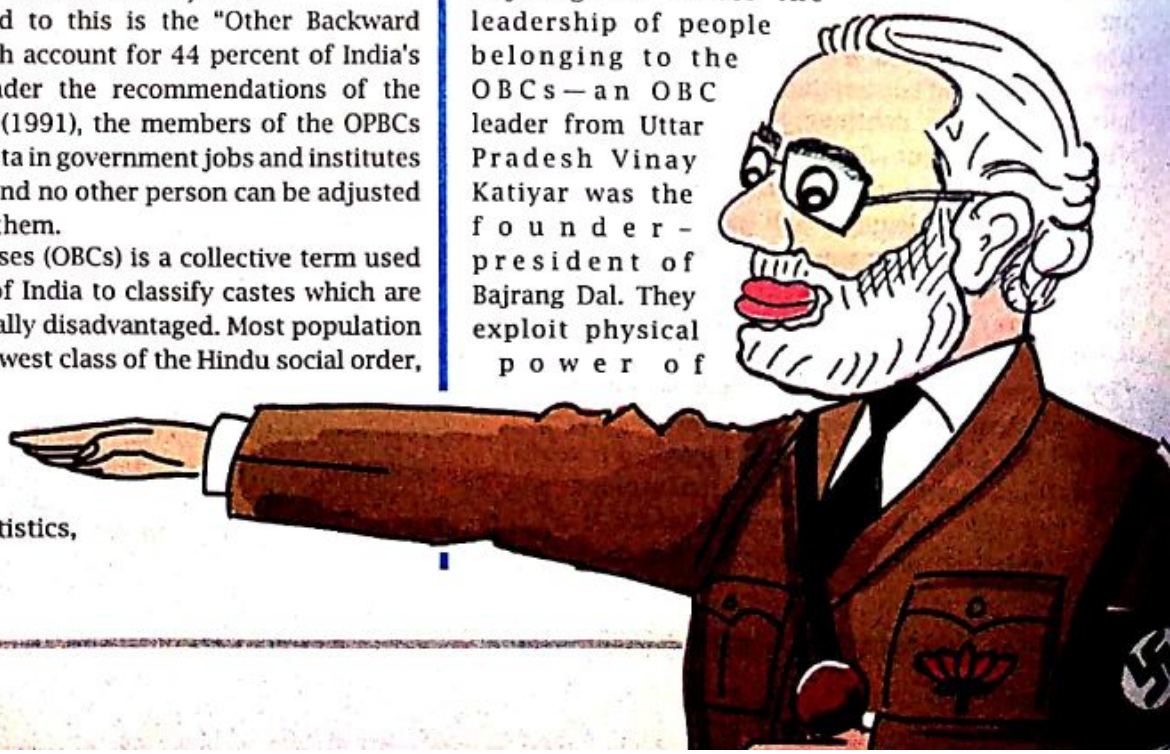
Muhammad Atif Sheikh

Similarly, marriages of Muslim men with Hindu girls are being stopped on the pretext of Love Jihad and those who have already married are being separated through courts or even by use of force. Hindu nationalist groups, especially RSS and VHP are spreading false propaganda that Muslim men, under an organized effort, are duping women belonging to non-Muslim communities into marriage after conversion to Islam by feigning love, with an aim to increase the population of Muslims ergo decreasing that of Hindus. To counter this, they have launched '*beti bachao, bahu lao*' campaign under which the marriages of Hindu girls with Muslim men are being discouraged while Hindu men, on the contrary, are being exhorted to convert Muslim girls into Hinduism and marry them.

The next background to this is the "Other Backward Classes" (OBCs) which account for 44 percent of India's total population. Under the recommendations of the Mandal Commission (1991), the members of the OPBCs have a 27 percent quota in government jobs and institutes of higher education and no other person can be adjusted on seats reserved for them.

Other Backward Classes (OBCs) is a collective term used by the Government of India to classify castes which are educationally or socially disadvantaged. Most population of the Shudras, the lowest class of the Hindu social order, is part of this group—Dalits are not a part of Hindu caste system. As per the official statistics, 42.8% of Hindus, 41.3 percent of Christians, 39.2 percent of Muslims, and 13.7 of Zoroastrians, as well as some smaller chunkc of population belonging to other belief systems, are classified as OBCs.

Here two things are very important: first, this quota is for all OBCs, and hence it is not a quota granted on the basis of religion; hence, it is used to keep Hindus to stay within the ambit Hinduism and to lure OBCs of other religions to convert to Hinduism. Second, the basic definition of the OBCs is social and education backwardness. In this scenario, various methods like enticements, threats and oppression work well in keeping them within the folds of, or luring them to convert to, Hinduism. This is a political strategy used as a tool to keep OBCs under control. Under this policy, RSS and VHP have established Bajrang Dal under the leadership of people belonging to the OBCs—an OBC leader from Uttar Pradesh Vinay Katiyar was the founder-president of Bajrang Dal. They exploit physical power of





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homeless and impoverished people to promote the Hindutva agenda. BJP, which is ruling India currently, is a clear example of how OBCs have been allowed to enter leadership circles of nationalist and extremist parties—Current Indian premier Narendra Modi belongs to the Modh-Ghanchi-Teli (oil-presser) community which is categorized as an OBC by the Indian government.

Let's have a look from another angle which is related to the demand for a separate religious identity. In India, there is a community called Lingayats. They were never enumerated as Hindus in any census in pre-partition India. But, after independence, the Indian government classified Lingayatism as a branch of Hinduism, hence they are included as Hindus in national census data despite the fact that they assert that they are not Hindus. As per a news report published in the Economic Times on Mar 19, 2018, "The Karnataka government has decided to favour recognition of one more religious minority in India—Lingayats, so called for their veneration of linga, the icon of Shiva. The state government today accepted suggestions of Nagamohan committee under section 2D of the state Minorities Commission Act. Now the proposal will be sent to the Centre for the final approval." Later, on December 12, 2018, India Today reported: "[T]he union government ... has rejected the recommendation of the [Karnataka] state government to grant religious minority status to Lingayat and Veerashaiva communities. Currently, this community occupies around 100 seats in a 225-strong Karnataka Legislative Assembly. As per a report published in the Times of India on October 10, 2013, "According to the Mahasabha's senior vice-president and Karnataka unit chief N Thippanna ... the community's population is 4 crore across the country."—3.3 percent of India's total population according to 2011 census. Likewise, a number of other communities in nook and cranny of India want a separate religious identity for them. Kabirpanthi and Satnami communities, which were classified as non-Hindus in 1881 census, were later enumerated as Hindus.

Keeping in view all these facts, as well as the increase in population of all religious minorities between 2001 and 2011, the possible scenario of Indian population in 2021 census could be as follows:

In 2021, the population of minorities in India, after an increase of 1.1 percentage points (PP), will be 21.3 percent of the country's total population as against 20.2 percent in 2001. In that year, Hindus will constitute 79.2 percent of India's total population while that of Muslims and Christians will be 15.1 percent and 2.3 percent, respectively. Likewise, the population of SCs and STs grew by 20.8 percent and 24 percent, respectively. If we take this growth rate as a barometer, their population in 2021 will be 243,360,000 (17.1 percent) and 129,613,000 (9.1 percent), respectively—an increase of 0.5 PP a piece.

The decrease in Hindu population while an increase in that of minorities, especially Muslims and Christians, is basically because of two main reasons: (1) natural growth; and (2) conversion of people oppressed by the rigid caste system to these religions. And, efforts to arrest this trend have already been started.

**National Register of Citizens (NRC)**

NRC is a verified digital register containing names and basic demographic information about all Indian citizens in a digital format. A person born in India or having Indian parentage or having resided in India for at least 11 years is eligible for Indian citizenship. The register was first prepared after the 1951 Census of India and since then it has been updated recently in the northeastern state of Assam. It will enable the government to identify infiltrators who have been living in India illegally, detain them and deport them to where they came from. On the basis of this register, a list of those people whose Indian nationality is in question will prepared. Those in this list are required to produce documentary evidence of their citizenship.

Protests on the issue of transparency in NRC are ongoing across India and there are apprehensions that this will be a tool against the Indian minorities.

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In 151, the National Register of Citizens (NRC) was created as a tool to identify all registered Hindu citizens. Assam, being a border state with unique problems of illegal immigration, has a significant population of illegal immigrants. The process of updating the NRC started in 2015 and all people born after 24 March 1971 were obligated to produce the documentary evidence that they were citizens of India. In July 2018, the Assam state government published a draft list whereby more than 4 million people were excluded from the NRC for failing to provide the required documents. However, as per the final list published on August 31, 2019, this number is 1.9 million. And, these left-out people were allowed to appeal against their exclusion before specially formed courts called Foreigners Tribunals within 120 days. Assam government declared that unless these people are ruled as foreigner by the FTs, they will not be, in any case, arrested. A person dissatisfied with the verdict of the ST against him will also have right to appeal before a high court and Supreme Court. Those declared foreigners by the FTs will be kept in detention camps till their deportation. Media reports suggest that inmates in these detention camps are kept in inhumane conditions. Many people believe that the NRC exercise doesn't have anything to do with religion but human rights activists allege that the Bengalis, with a vast majority of Muslims, have been a specific target—it is, however, true that a significant number of Bengali Hindus have also been excluded from the NRC. In June 2018, four special rapporteurs of the United Nations, including the one on freedom of religion or belief, wrote a letter to the Indian government wherein they expressed a grave concern and said, "[T]he NRC update has generated increased anxiety and concerns among the Bengali Muslim minority in Assam, who have long been discriminated against due to their perceived status as foreigners, despite possessing the necessary documents to prove their citizenship." Modi's BJP wants to extend the NRC to the whole country. On November 20, 2019, Home Minister Amit Shah has told Rajya Sabha that the National Register of Citizens (NRC) will be implemented nationwide.

**National Population Register (NPR)**

The National Population Register (NPR) is a register of usual residents of the country being prepared at the local (village/sub-town), sub-district, district, state and national level under provisions of the Citizenship Act, 1955 and the Citizenship (Registration of Citizens and issue of National Identity Cards) Rules, 2003. It is mandatory for every usual resident of India to register in the NPR. Under the NPR, a usual resident is defined as a person who has resided in a local area for the past six months or more or a person who intends to reside in that area for the next six months or more.

NPR's purpose is to create a comprehensive identity database of every usual resident in the country. The database would contain biometric particulars. Aadhaar, mobile number, PAN, driving license, voter ID details and Indian passport numbers as well as demographic details like name of person, relationship to head of household, Father's name, Mother's name, Spouse's name (if married), Sex, Date of Birth, Marital status, Place of birth, National Nationality (as declared), Present address of usual residence, Duration of stay at present address, Permanent residential address, Occupation/Activity, Educational qualification. As per a report by BBC Urdu, the number of categories has been increased to 21 and the added categories have raised many eyebrows.

Another activity that is soon going to be launched is the update of the National Population Register (NPR). As per the website of the office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, the exercise will be done from April to September 2020 in all the states/union territories, except Assam. The main purpose of the NRC is, reportedly, to identify and detain illegal immigrants—though there are concerns that it could arbitrarily exclude genuine Indian citizens. This exercise is also related to India's next census that will be carried out in 2021. It will include 15 categories of demographic information while biometric details will be sourced from the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI)—as per a report by BBC Urdu, the number of categories has been increased to 21. Experts within India term the NPR as a first step towards a nationwide NRC. As per a news report, once the NPR is complete and published, it will be used as a basis for creating a National register of Citizens (NRC) after the pattern it was done in Assam.

In addition, the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019, has also come into force, against which huge protests have broken out all through the country. The Act is meant to give Indian citizenship to people belonging to six minority groups (Hindu, Jain, Sikh, Parsi, Buddhist and Christian)

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from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh, who have lived in India without documentation. Under the CAA, such people of these communities who have entered India before December 31, 2014, will be granted fast-track Indian citizenship in six years. So far, 12 years of residence has been the standard eligibility requirement for naturalisation. Moreover, the requirement of naturalisation which previously was 11 years has been cut to 5 years. One most conspicuous feature of this bill is that the communities being offered Indian citizenship do not include Muslims.

In this backdrop, when we connect the dots, the whole picture that emerges is again the policy of Hindutva which seeks to build an overwhelming majority of Hindus in India. It is due to this policy that Muslims are being subjected to oppression and subjugation under a state-sponsored policy. BJP's Modi government thinks that it will be able to grant Indian citizenship to Hindus living inside or outside of India and the Hindu citizenry will absorb them due to religious affinity and it will ultimately lead to a decisive Hindu majority in India. However, in many states, Hindus are also protesting against the CAA as they feel it an infringement of their rights and they fear that local Hindus will lose their majority status to those being granted the Indian citizenship. On the other hand, those adjudged foreigners will not only be stripped of the Indian citizenship but will also be deprived of their fundamental rights owing to which they may re-convert to Hinduism. Hence, it is all being done only to make the dream of mass re-conversions a reality. And the policy the Indian government will adopt for it is evident from statements of Amit Shah. On April 22, 2019, he tweeted: "First, we will bring Citizenship Amendment Bill and will give citizenship to the Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh, Jain and Christian refugees, the religious minorities from the neighbouring nations. Then, we will implement NRC to flush out the infiltrators from our country." Later, addressing a rally in Assam, he said, "Those Bengali Hindus who are illegal immigrants in Assam need not fear; they will be granted Indian citizenship." Keeping these pronouncements in view, now look at the nationwide implementation of NRC. The question that comes to every sane person's mind is: Does the majority of STs, SCs and OBCs, which constitute about 70 percent of India's total population, have all documentary evidence in support of their citizenship? And the answer is definitely a 'no'. Then, will India strip such a vast majority of its population of the Indian citizenship? If not, then why this hullabaloo of NRC and NPR?

**Difference between NPR and NRC**

National Population Register is a database of people living in India, citizens or otherwise, but National Register of Citizens is a database of Indian citizens. The NRC process demands proof of citizenship from the respondents. Those found without proof may face long detentions or even deportations.

*The writer can be contacted at: misteratif@yahoo.com*

## KEY POINTS OF BJP MANIFESTO

**The Bharatiya Janata Party on April 8 released its manifesto for the Lok Sabha elections in the presence of Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the party headquarters. Take a look at the key promises of the BJP manifesto**

### NATION FIRST

- Zero tolerance towards terrorism and extremism
- Make in India in Defence to enable indigenous production of defence equipments
- Combat infiltration – implement National Register of Citizens
- Citizenship Amendment Bill enactment
- Abrogate Article 370 and annul Article 52

### RAM MANDIR

- Explore all possibilities for building grand Ram Temple in Ayodhya

### ECONOMY

- Make India the third largest economy of the world by 2030
- Lower tax rate and broaden tax base
- By 2024, make capital investment of ₹100 lakh crore in the infrastructure sector
- Accident insurance of ₹10 lakh to all the traders registered under GST
- Provide collateral-free credit up to ₹50 lakh for entrepreneurs
- Create Seed Start up Fund of ₹20,000 crore

### AGRICULTURE & FARMERS

- Double farmers income by 2022
- Zero interest for ₹5 years on loans through (kisan) credit card of up to ₹one lakh
- ₹25 lakh crore investment in Agri-rural sector
- Interest-free Kisan Credit Card loans
- Pension to small and marginal farmers to ensure social security after 60 years of age
- Effort to complete all pending irrigation schemes by 2022

### OTHER PROMISES

- 100 per cent electrification of all households
- LPG cylinders to all poor
- 75 new medical colleges, post graduate institutes
- 1.5 lakh wellness centres under Ayushman Bharat
- Clean Ganga by 2022



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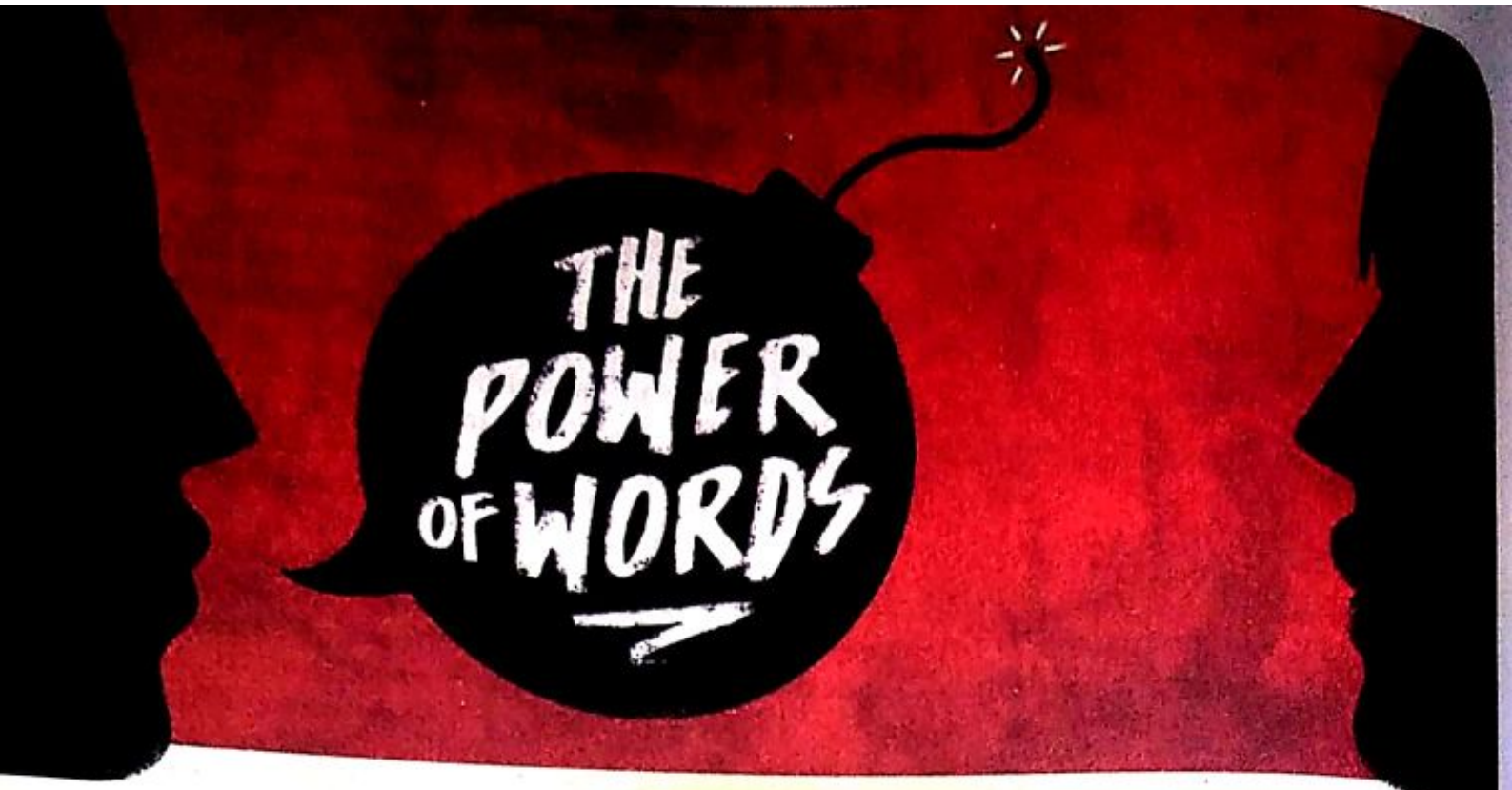

# THE POWER OF WORDS

Laiba Muhammad Aamir

Words, either written or spoken, carry powerful energy in them which affects speaker/writer and listener/reader in the same way. Spoken words have sounds which have vibration. Likewise, written words are related to mind and thoughts. For this reason, there is always an immense effect of words when they are spoken or written. When a person speaks or writes, the energy of the words reaches to the outer world. In both of these cases, it is the energy of our words which matter. Our language works in a system under the "Law of Attraction." This law says that our thoughts have the ability of bringing into our lives whatever we focus on. Since our thoughts are expressed through language; therefore, negative and positive language brings negative and positive experiences into our lives by matching the frequency of our words with the frequency of the energy outside. For this reason, when a person uses positive words, its frequency matches with all the positive energy in the world and he achieves positivity. On the other hand, when a person uses negative words, then energy attracts all the negative energy in the outside world which affects him adversely. For the listeners/readers, this system works the same. If a person listens/reads time and again that he is good, healthy, supportive, intelligent and brave, he will start perceiving himself with all these positive adjectives and the universe will bring him what he is focusing on. In contrast, if another person listens/reads that he is bad, stupid and loser, there is no way that he will think or achieve positivity. The brain uses repetition to learn. It searches for patterns and consistencies to make sense of the words around it. Therefore, people attract what they think, speak, listen, writes and read.

The law of attraction works in the sphere of philosophy but there is also a scientific reason behind the power of words. A Japanese scientist and water researcher, Dr Masaru Emoto, conducted an experiment to reveal an astonishing fact that the molecular structure of water is greatly affected by words and their vibration. He concluded that water reacts to the sound vibrations. The water crystals formed a beautiful and symmetric structure when words of love and gratitude were spoken near them. On the other hand, when negative words were spoken, the crystals of another sample of water, which was taken from the same source were broken. This experiment shows that words have strong impact on humans as well because human body contains 70

God has created this world with humans, animals and other creatures, but humans are kept at the top of the pyramid because of only one quality—their power of using language. Language is not a means of communication only between people; its primary function is to define people. In this way, words are not only used to communicate and express thoughts and emotions but they also originate and produce these emotions to describe people. Thoughts and ideas have no existence unless they are concertized by language. The thinking ability of humans is given value only because of its quality of being conveyed through language. It gives existence to reality and, ultimately, to the entire universe. Due to this significance, humans are always interested in language since day one. When a child is born, he wants to express his feelings by making different sounds. When these sounds develop into proper form (language), the thinking ability of a child also improves. Therefore, it is right to say that thoughts and language are inter-dependent and work together for the better sustenance of the world.

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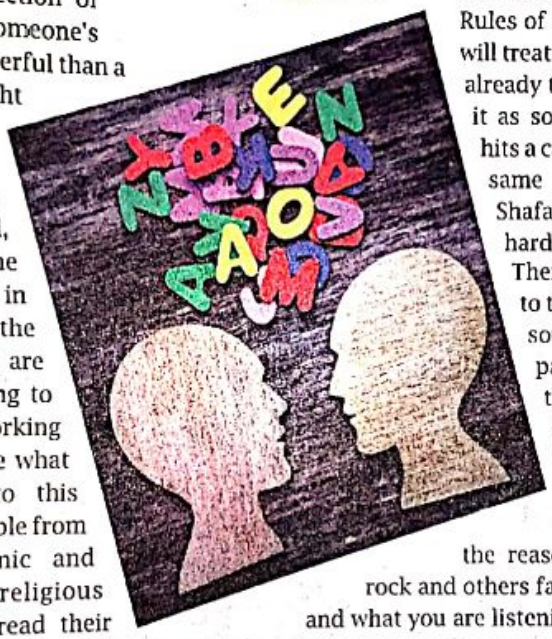
percent water. Therefore, the words that we use affect us because the water in our body reacts accordingly. Similar studies are done on plants as well in which the same plant was placed in three different rooms. In one room, kind words were spoken. In second room, harsh words were spoken, whereas in the third room, there was complete silence. The results show that the plant which was kept in room with kind words grew a little more than the other two.

Other than philosophical, psychological, and scientific evidence of the power of words, there are some myths as well. According to a report, in the Solomon Island of the South Pacific, the islanders practice a special form of curse magic. If a tree is too big to cut, these people start cursing the tree with negative words and yell at it. This negative energy damages the energy of the tree and it eventually falls to the ground.

Language is not the mere collection of words which comes out of someone's mouth or pen. They are more powerful than a sword. The effects of a sword might be forgotten after some time but the effects of words are life-changing and lifelong as well. They have the power to help, heal, hurt, harm and kill. They have the ability to change people's lives in good and bad ways. They are the reason through which relations are made and broken. It is not wrong to say that the entire universe is working due to play of words. Words are what people are living for. Due to this magnificent power of words, people from educational, political, economic and advertisement societies to religious sectors are using words to spread their ideas. Diane Satterfield, that "There is someth ing about words because they wind themselves around your limbs like a spider and never let you go free, they pierce your skin, enter your blood, numb your thoughts and do their magic inside you." This game of playing with the words is not a recent work. It started since the days of Cicero, the Roman philosopher. They are used by Shakespeare in his tragedies and Barack Obama in his speeches to affect their audience. Throughout human history, greatest leaders and thinkers have used words to transform others' emotions and to shape the course of the destiny the way they want. Words affect our actions and these actions define our lives.



Greek philosopher Aristotle has said that words carry a tremendous power to affect people but they can be made more powerful by the use of three elements and this is what people use to affect their audience. By using these elements, words are articulated in such a way that they never leave their receiver unaffected. Firstly, ethos is the use of one's authority and credibility in language. If a doctor tells his patient that this particular medicine is going to generate best possible results, his patients are going to use that medicine without giving it a second thought even if it proves to be poison later. Secondly, pathos is the use of producing feelings and strong emotions in one's audience. If a leader wants to arouse the spirit of patriotism in his citizens, he will target their emotions through his words, and it works always. Thirdly, logos is the use of logic, facts and reasons in one's language to persuade his audience. Elif Shafak said in The Forty Rules of Love that if a stone hits a river, it will treat it as yet another commotion in its already turbulent flow and it will not take it as something unusual, but if a stone hits a calm lake, the lake will never be the same again. This statement of Elif Shafak has definitely hit her readers hard because of the use of logic.

Therefore, be mindful when it comes to the use of words. They are not just sounds or marks on a paper but a pack of energy. They are tools through which thoughts are given shape and people are impacted. They are the reason through which people are persuaded, and aims are achieved. They are the reason through which some people rock and others fail. Be careful what you are saying and what you are listening. Be extra careful what you are writing and what you are reading. Stay away from toxic words because a sentence may not have much value but it can make or destroy lives. Words are free but the effect that they have is priceless. They are nothing in themselves but they can turn the world upside down with their energy. Words matter because they carry tremendous power. When you speak, speak well. When you write, keep in mind that there is a receiver at the other end who will be affected accordingly. What starts out as a sound or mark on a paper, ends in actions. Therefore, do not say "I am not well," say, "I am in the process of getting well." Do not say, "Have a good day," rather say "Have a best day".

Think good, speak better, attract best!



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**Children feeding on leftovers at dumpsters, beggars in tatters, young, pregnant mothers carrying toddlers chasing cars for alms on traffic signals, stunted children staring vacantly at the zoomed-in camera, long queues of people with containers waiting for their turns at the community water tap, half-clad children playing around overflowing gutters, open-air schools with pupils squatting on jute mats, people falling over each other for a free bag of Ata (wheat flour), labour sitting on the roadside waiting for work ... such images are used in reports on poverty. These are the images that catch the eye of the lenders.**

# GRINDING POVERTY in Pakistan

## *Is Ehsaas Program a panacea?*

Hassaan Bin Zubair

Since its inauguration in 2018, the Imran Khan-led government has focused more on poverty eradication than any other programme. Without disturbing the landmark poverty alleviation project, i.e. the Benazir Income Support Programme, the PTI government initiated its own projects that are innovative and sustainable as well. Panah Gahs have been functional in major cities to provide shelter to the homeless, while Ehsaas is on its way to a phased completion to provide instant supplies of food, clothing, education, health and subsistence to deserving people. The Division of Poverty Alleviation and Social Safety is unique since it was purpose-established to implement the umbrella initiative, Ehsaas.

On March 27 last year, the Government of Pakistan launched the "Ehsaas" program, the objective of which is to reduce inequality, invest in people, and lift up the lagging districts. Ehsaas is about the creation of a 'welfare state' by countering elite capture and leveraging 21st-century tools such as using data and technology to create precision safety nets; promoting financial inclusion and access to digital services; supporting the economic empowerment of women; focusing on the central role of human capital formation for poverty eradication, economic growth and sustainable development; and overcoming financial barriers to accessing health and post-secondary education. The program's principles and approaches also center on tapping whole-of-government, multi-sectoral collaboration for solutions; ensuring joint federal-provincial leadership; and mainstreaming the role of the private sector through an approach which will provide a level playing field, on the one hand, and foster locally-relevant innovation, on the other, to create jobs and promote livelihood in quick-win areas. The program's premise is grounded in the importance of strengthening institutions, transparency and good governance. The program is for the extreme poor, orphans, widows, the homeless, the disabled, those who risk medical impoverishment, for the jobless, for poor farmers, for labourers, for the sick and undernourished; for students from low-income backgrounds and for poor women and elderly citizens. This plan is also about lifting lagging areas where poverty is higher. Ehsaas poverty reduction strategy is articulated in four pillars and it currently

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embodies 115 policy actions, which may be expanded as the process of consultations on the program, further widens. The four pillars include: addressing elite capture and making the government system work to create equality; safety nets for disadvantaged segments of the population; jobs and livelihoods; and human capital development.

Ehsaas is not only a policy initiative, but also a visionary document which lays the foundations for a welfare state that provides basic necessities as fundamental rights for its citizens.

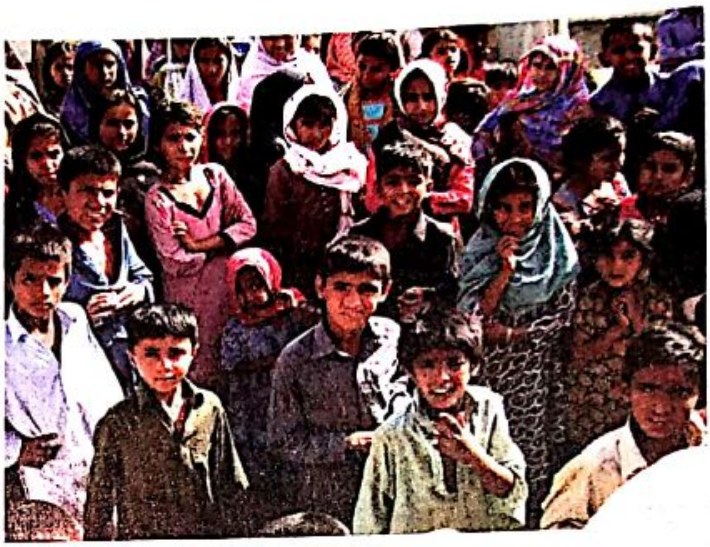
The first pillar on "Addressing elite capture and making the government system work for equality" is targeted against injustices in taxation, water management, and labour laws, among other things. Under this objective, Ehsaas provides for increased government spending on social protection, with a specialized ministry for this purpose and a one-window operation for poor to access

these services. Also, pro-poor policies and incentives will be encouraged under National and Provincial Finance Commissions and innovative ways of development funding shall be formulated that will increase the impact of public sector development programs.

The second pillar on "Safety nets" envisions sub-programs including the "Tahafuz" (protection) program which caters to downtrodden and marginalized segments of the society. It will provide legal aid, educational grants and medical insurance for the poor. The "Kifalat" program which provides cash stipends, shelter for orphans, health coverage, livelihood recovery initiatives and other elements required for the overall well-being of the society. The Prime Minister envisions to create laws and initiatives for the welfare of the poor, elderly, orphans, widows, labourers and Pakistani workers abroad.

The third pillar on "Human Capital Development" invests in human resource from early stage as it will cater tackling malnutrition, preschool or early education, protecting children from harm; ensuring access to quality education, skills and jobs; long-term commitment to Universal Health Coverage, and measures for empowering women and girls.

The fourth pillar on "Jobs and Livelihoods" will formulate a new policy of Solutions Innovation Challenge, Prize Funding, and Venture Capital Funding to develop value chains and solutions for poverty at scale by identifying private-sector partners. It will encourage entrepreneurs by building an enterprising environment, offering



business support and expertise, vocational trainings, soft loans, online platforms, manpower export and youth programs.

Another essential element of Prime Minister's poverty alleviation strategy is the use of digital technology and formation of databases entailing essential information and demographic disbursement of poverty across Pakistan. Moreover, technology will help in bringing change in traditional ways of implementation of projects towards an evidence-based decision-making for an informed policy.

It is noteworthy that these development solutions may vary in terms of objectives and design, but they all target human well-being and environmental sustainability. Despite the core objective being one, there are major differences and disagreements in terms of which development template and solution to follow, as some of these initiatives have been successful, while others have failed.

These steps reflect the government's determination in pursuing Article 38 (d) of the Constitution under which



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the state is to ensure citizens' access to fundamental rights such as shelter, clothing, health and education. Despite facing hard financial issues, the PTI government cut development allocations in the budget for 2019-20 but still allocated Rs80 billion for the underprivileged segments of society. In 2020, the sum would be increased to Rs120 billion.

The success of any development recipe lies in its sensitization to the local settings and domestic social environments and most importantly, the efficiency with which these universal development practices are tailored accordingly to indigenous factors and socio-psychological temperaments, and finally, effective implementation.

There are several operational challenges and theoretical policy puzzles that stand in between the effective implementation of Ehsaas program. For instance, the capacity issue. Pakistan has already declared right to education as a fundamental right under Article 25-A. However, this has not resulted in the actual dispensation of free and compulsory education. Pragmatically speaking, there are serious capacity issues for the state when it comes to providing shelter, food, cloth and education as fundamental rights.

As history bears testimony to the fact, one of the main reasons for the failure of development and poverty alleviation programs in Pakistan has been the lack of devolution or excessive centralization. Political interference also tends to create inconsistency and adhocism for such programs that results in their failure. There are several thousand people, if not more, who make a living out of the poverty alleviation agenda. This includes those at the top of hierarchical structures, experts serving as consultants in collaboration with key lenders, and those working in the field down the pecking order. They gobble up a sizeable share of the total spending, including the aid inflow, meant to serve the poverty-stricken multitude. The lenders are not beyond blame either: they knowingly depend on sub-optimal national data and do little, if anything, to force the government to produce something credible. Multiple UN agencies, World Bank, Department for International Development (DFID), Asian Development Bank (ADB) and other key lenders that have a history of engagement in Pakistan can't be absolved of the responsibility. They are bureaucratic, high on paperwork and low on performance audit and they are incorruptible is a myth.

These factors should be a relevant concern for Ehsaas program. Striking the right balance at this junction is a critical factor for the success of Ehsaas program.

Although reliable statistics are not available on the collective spending on social welfare by the government, non-profit and private sectors, it runs into hundreds of millions of rupees every year. The government, the private sector and the public at large need to redefine their vows to fight poverty. So far the government, through its Ehsaas programme, has several policy windows such as the "National Poverty Graduation Initiative, financial inclusion strategy, and prize funds for innovative solutions such as garbage collecting rickshaws to create jobs. Still, state's capacity to fight poverty is far from the desired goal. The private sector, though, has partnered with the government in its Langar programme, but its corporate social responsibility programme needs to be streamlined, scrutinised and documented. Pakistan has made a name in philanthropy, and in every nook and corner, charity work is ongoing selflessly. These initiatives must be documented under a governmental window so that they are facilitated and strengthened. The creation of a poverty alleviation ministry can do the needful.

*The writer is a PhD Scholar (English Literature). He can be reached at: hbz77@yahoo.com*

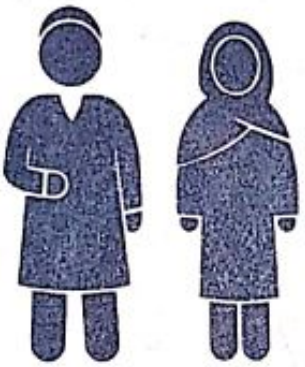
## 2018 Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)

### SOUTH ASIA

In both Afghanistan and Pakistan, one in four people lives in severe poverty.

PAKISTAN

AFGHANISTAN



546 MILLION people are multidimensionally poor in South Asia.

17 of the 19 poorest subnational regions in South Asia were in Afghanistan.

In South Asia, NUTRITION DEPRIVATIONS alone contribute more than one-quarter to the overall MPI.

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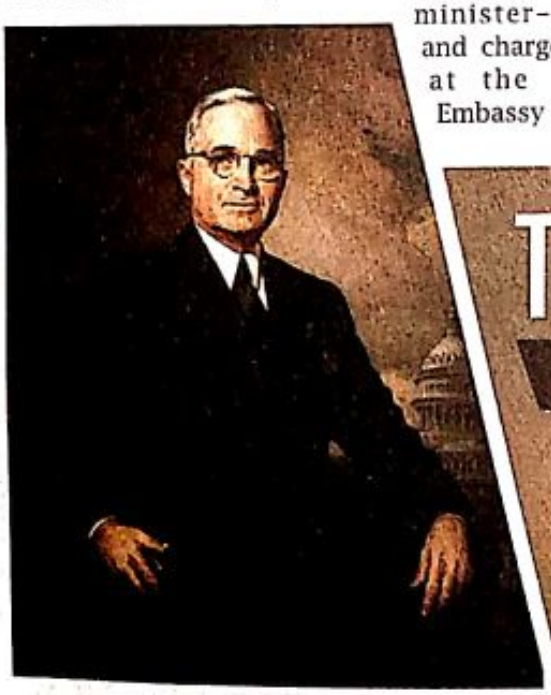
Magazine Desk

# The Truman Doctrine

## Containing Communism during the Cold War

**On March 12, 1947, US President Harry S. Truman pledged that the United States would help any nation resist communism in order to prevent its spread. His policy of containment is known as the Truman Doctrine. The Truman Doctrine demonstrated that the United States would not return to isolationism after World War II, but rather take an active role in world affairs.**



When President Harry S. Truman issued what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine in March 1947, he was outlining the basic foreign policy that the United States would use against the Soviet Union and Communism for the next 44 years. The doctrine, which had both economic and military elements, pledged support for countries attempting to hold back Soviet-style revolutionary Communism. It symbolized the United States' post-World War II global leadership role.

### Countering Communism in Greece

Truman formulated the doctrine in response to the Greek Civil War, which itself was an extension of World War II. German troops had occupied Greece since April 1941, but as the war progressed, Communist insurgents, known as the National Liberation Front (or EAM/ELAS), challenged Nazi control. In October 1944, with Germany losing the war on both the western and eastern fronts, Nazi troops abandoned Greece. Soviet General Secretary Josef Stalin supported the EAM/LEAM, but he ordered them to stand down and let British troops take over Greek occupation to avoid irritating his British and American wartime allies.

World War II had destroyed Greece's economy and infrastructure and created a political vacuum that Communists sought to fill. By late 1946, EAM/ELAM fighters, now backed by Yugoslav Communist leader Josip Broz Tito (who was no Stalinist puppet), forced war-weary England to commit as many as 40,000 troops to Greece to ensure it did not fall to Communism.

Great Britain, however, was also financially strapped due to World War II, and on February 21, 1947, it informed the United States that it was no longer able to financially sustain its operations in Greece. If the United States wanted to halt the spread of Communism into Greece, it would have to do so itself.

### Containment

Halting the spread of Communism had become the United States' basic foreign policy objective.

In 1946, American diplomat George Kennan, who was minister-counselor and chargé d'affaires at the American Embassy in Moscow, suggested that the United States could hold Communism at its 1945 boundaries with what he described as a patient and long-term "containment" of the Soviet system.

While Kennan would later disagree with some elements of American implementation of his theory (such as involvement in Vietnam), containment became the basis of American foreign policy with Communist nations for the next four decades.

### Marshall Plan

On March 12, Truman unveiled the Truman Doctrine in an address to the United States Congress.

"It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure," Truman said. He asked Congress for $400 million in aid for Greek anti-communist forces, as well as for the defence of Turkey, which the Soviet Union was pressuring to allow joint control of the Dardanelles, the narrow strait forming part of the division between Asia and Europe.

In April 1948, Congress passed the Economic Cooperation Act, better known as the Marshall Plan. The plan was the economic arm of the Truman Doctrine.

Named for Secretary of State George C. Marshall (who had been United States Army Chief of Staff during the war), the plan offered money to war-torn areas for rebuilding of cities and their infrastructures. American policy-makers recognized that, without quick rebuilding of war damage, countries across Europe were likely to turn to Communism.

While the plan was technically open to Soviet-allied Eastern European nations as well, it touted a free market as the best way to rebuilding a shattered postwar economy. That was something Moscow wasn't interested in buying.

### Implications

Until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Truman Doctrine generally succeeded in containing Communism to its pre-1945 borders with exceptions in Southeast Asia, Cuba and Afghanistan.

That said, both Greece and Turkey ended up led by repressive rightwing regimes, and the Truman Doctrine marked the beginning of the Cold War with the Soviet Union.



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# WORLD IN FOCUS

M. Usman Butt

## NATIONAL

**Jan. 16:** Army Chief Gen Qamar Bajwa appointed Maj Gen Azhar Waqas director general of the MI in place of Maj Gen Sarfraz Ali. Maj Gen Waqas is from infantry and has previously commanded 40th Infantry Division in Okara as its general officer commanding.

**Jan. 16:** Maj Gen Sarfraz Ali was appointed inspector general of the Frontier Corps (South) Balochistan.

**Jan. 16:** Fata Research Centre (FRC) issued its report which said that 160 violent incidents including 106 terrorist attacks were recorded during 2019, while there were 264 such incidents including 127 terrorist attacks in 2018, thus showing a decline of 16 percent in acts of terror.

**Jan. 17:** Pakistan's Jabbar Bhatti climbed 6,962-metre-high Mount Aconcagua, the highest peak in South America. Jabbar Bhatti is the third Pakistani after Samina Baig and her brother Mirza Ali, to conquer Mt. Aconcagua.

**Jan. 17:** The United Nations issued its World Economic Situation and Prospects report which said that the economy of Pakistan is expected to recover slightly from 2021 onward.

**Jan. 17:** The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government replaced the provincial director general Health Services Dr Arshad Ahmad with Dr Tahir Nadeem Khan.

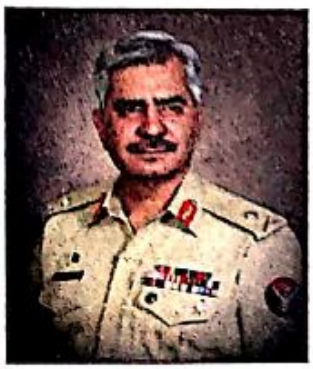
**Jan. 17:** PCB Challengers won the National Triangular T20 Women's Championship by defeating PCB Blasters in final.

### Outgoing and Incoming Chiefs of ISPR

**On Jan 16, Maj Gen Babar Iftikhar was posted as Director General of Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) in place of Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor who would move to Okara as GOC of 40th Infantry Division.**

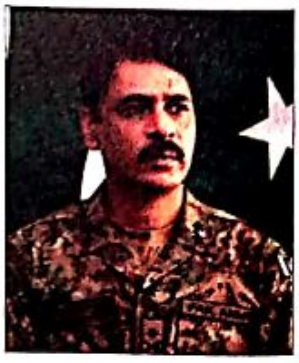
#### Maj Gen Babar Iftikhar

Maj Gen Babar Iftikhar, from armoured corps, was commissioned in 6 Lancers in March 1990 and is a graduate of the Command & Staff College, Quetta, the NDU University and the Royal Jordanian Command & Staff College. He wields vast experience in the areas of command, staff and instruction. Besides teaching at the NDU, Major General Babar was also posted at the Pakistan Military Academy (PMA), Kakul. He has rendered major services as a brigadier in the armoured brigades division. He has previously held the post of Brigade Staff of an infantry division in North Waziristan. During Operation Zarb-e-Azb, he commanded the infantry and armoured brigades. has also served as Chief of Staff at the Corps Headquarters. He has also served as an instructor at the Pakistan Military Academy (PMA) Kakul and at the NDU. Before being appointed DG ISPR, he was commanding the armoured division in Multan.



#### Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor

Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor is a graduate of the Command & Staff College Quetta, Command & Staff College Bandung (Indonesia) and NDU Islamabad. He was commissioned on September 9, 1988 in 87 Medium Regiment. He was posted as the DG ISPR in December 2016, replacing Lt-Gen Asim Bajwa as the head of the military's media wing. He has served on various staff, instructional and command assignments to include Brigade Major Infantry Brigade, Assistant Military Secretary MS Branch, GHQ, Directing Staff Command & Staff College Quetta and Director Military Operations in Military Operations Directorate, GHQ. He has commanded his parent unit in Operation Al-Mizan, Artillery Brigade on Line of Control, Infantry Brigade on Eastern Border and a Division at Swat, Malakand. He is a recipient of COAS Commendation Card for operations in Bajaur during 2008.





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Jan. 19: The Ministry of National Health Services (NHS) constituted an 18-member National Medical and Dental Academic Board (NMDAB) that will look into the standard of education being followed by the undergraduate/post-graduate medical and dental institutions across the country.
Jan. 19: Balochistan Chief Minister Jam Kamal reappointed Mohammad Khan Lehri his adviser on labour and manpower.
Jan. 20: The government notified the appointment of Murtaza Syed as deputy governor State Bank of Pakistan (SBP).
Jan. 21: The Pakistan Stock Exchange (PSX) appointed Dr Sakhara Rizwan the new company secretary.
Jan. 21: Kenya Navy's Commander Maj Gen Levi Franklin Ughalu visited the Naval Headquarters in Islamabad and met Chief of the Naval Staff Admiral Zafar Mahmood Abbasi.
Jan. 21: While speaking at an event organized by an Islamabad-based think tank, senior US diplomat Alice Wells renewed criticism of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), impliedly urging Islamabad to rethink its involvement with it.
Jan. 22: Pakistan showed some improvement on the 2019 Democracy Index, although the progress appeared not quite significant. The country's global ranking moved up four places to 108th place with its overall score improving slightly from 4.17 in 2018 to 4.25 in 2019. Like the previous year, Pakistan was still classified as a 'hybrid regime' in the 2019 listing.
Jan. 22: Pakistan and Russia agreed to amend an inter-governmental agreement in a bid to execute a $2-billion gas pipeline project by avoiding US sanctions.
Jan. 23: Pakistan ranked 120 out of 180 countries on the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2019 released by Transparency International.
Jan. 23: Two ministers Sardar Yar Mohammad Rind and Metha Khan Kakar were inducted into Balochistan cabinet.
Jan. 23: Top seed Haris Tahir clinched the Jubilee Insurance U-21 National Snooker Championship after comfortably beating Umer Farooq in the final.
Jan. 23: Pakistan conducted successful training launch of surface-to-surface Short Range Ballistic Missile (SRBM) Ghaznavi, capable of delivering multiple types of warheads up to a range of 290 kilometres.
Jan. 23: Pakistan was selected as the President of Asia and Pacific (ASPAC) group in Unesco for the period from January to December 2020.
Jan. 23: Yasmeen Lari, Pakistan's first-ever female architect, was awarded the prestigious Jane Drew Prize 2020 for her contribution to raising the profile of women in design and architecture.
Jan. 23: The KP cabinet approved the integration of Levies and Khasadar forces into regular police.
Jan. 24: COAS General Qamar Javed Bajwa inaugurated state-of-the-art Electronic Warfare (EW) and Ground Surveillance Radar (GSR) testing laboratories at National Radio Telecommunication Corporation (NRTC) Haripur.
Jan. 24: Adviser to PM on Climate Change Malik Amin Aslam launched Pakistan's first 3-wheeler electric vehicles, in

## Bloomberg Innovation Index 2020

On Jan 17, the latest Bloomberg Innovation Index was released according to which Germany broke South Korea's six-year reign as the "the most innovative nation in the world." A total of 60 nations are included in the index, which is compiled using criteria including research and development spending, manufacturing capability, and concentration of high-tech public companies.

**Top 10 countries**

1. Germany
2. South Korea
3. Singapore
4. Switzerland
5. Sweden
6. Israel
7. Finland
8. Denmark
9. USA
10. France

## Address of foreign dignitaries in Pakistan's parliament

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Lahore.

**Jan. 25:** Rising Blue, a 286-foot-tall public art mural claimed to be the world's largest, was unveiled at Centrepoint in Karachi. The mural has been made by Italian artist Giuseppe Percivati.

**Jan. 25:** Punjab Governor Chaudhry Muhammad Sarwar appointed Prof Dr Nasim Ahmad the vice chancellor of the University of Veterinary and Animal Science (UVAS).

**Jan. 25:** Pakistan defeated Bangladesh to secure an unassailable 2-0 lead in the three-match series.

**Jan. 25:** Pakistan's Asad Ali Memon successfully climbed Aconcagua—the highest mountain peak in South America.

**Jan. 26:** Transparency International, the Berlin-based watchdog, clarified Transparency International Pakistan report that Pakistan's lowered ranking on corruption index didn't "reflect an increase or decrease in corruption as it is within the standard margin of error".

**Jan. 26:** The Economic Freedom Index 2019, compiled by the Washington-based Heritage Foundation, was issued according to which Pakistan's overall economic freedom score has increased by 0.6 point, with higher scores for judicial effectiveness and property rights outpacing declines in monetary freedom and fiscal health. The EFI gave Pakistan 55.0 on a scale of 0 to 100, making it the 131st freest economy on a list of 186.

**Jan. 27:** Shahid Salim Khan assumed charge as the managing director (MD) and chief executive officer (CEO) of Oil and Gas Development Company Limited (OGDCL).

**Jan. 27:** The new chief election commissioner (CEC), Mohammad Jalal Sikandar Sultan Raja, and two ECP members from Sindh and Balochistan—Nisar Durrani and Shah Mohammad Jatoi—took the oath of their offices.

**Jan. 27:** Senior journalist Khalique Zuberi passed away at 80.

**Jan. 27:** Pakistan won the T20 series against Bangladesh 2-0 after the third and final match was washed out.

**Jan. 28:** The State of Palestine donated a mobile health unit to the government of Pakistan.

**Jan. 29:** Former Pakistan fast bowler Mohammad Munaf passed away. He was 84.

**Jan. 29:** The federal authorities waived off all penalties and taxes in direction of a Turkish rental power company to pave means for the discharge of its four ships in Pakistan's custody - a prerequisite for amicable settlement of the $1.2 billion penalty slapped on Islamabad by a world adjudication tribunal.

**Jan. 30:** World Bank's International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes approved Pakistan's petition for a review in the Reko Diq case, in which the country was slapped with a $6 billion fine.

**Jan. 30:** Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) chairman, Shabbar Zaidi, went on indefinite leave, on medical grounds.

**Jan. 30:** Khawaja Adnan Zaber, a BS-21 officer in Inland Revenue Service, was appointed DG National FATF Secretariat/Cell in Ministry of Finance Affairs.

**Jan. 31:** The federal government appointed Justice Wazir Shakil a judge of the Gilgit-Baltistan (G-B) Supreme Appellate Court, which serves as G-B's apex court.

**Jan. 31:** The government declared national emergency to eliminate the attacking swarms of desert locust.

**Jan. 31:** Murad Ali and Mahoor Shahzad won the men and women's singles titles, respectively in the 57th National Badminton Championships.

**Feb. 01:** The Supreme Court dissolved its commission on water and sanitation in Sindh.

**Feb. 01:** A 15-member group of the first-ever Pakistani Female Engagement Team (FET), deployed since June last year to work with the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Monusco), were awarded the UN Medal.

**Feb. 01:** Indonesia conferred the highest military award Bintang Jalasena Utama upon Naval Chief Admiral Zafar Mahmood Abbasi.

**Feb. 01:** The federal government appointed FBR's Member Admin, Nosheen Javed Amjad, the acting chair of the FBR.

**Feb. 02:** Aqeel Khan won the 33rd Federal Cup National Ranking tennis tournament's men's singles title.

**Feb. 03:** An accountability court acquitted former premier Raja Pervaiz Ashraf and seven others nominated by the NAB in the Gujranwala Electric Power Company (Gepco) illegal appointments case. This is the first case that is decided after amendment to the NAB law.

**Feb. 03:** Pakistani fast bowler Haris Rauf was picked for the best XI of the ninth edition of the Big Bash League (BBL).

**Feb. 03:** The Senate refused, by a majority vote, to allow leave to introduce the bill aimed to increase parliamentarians' salaries and perks.

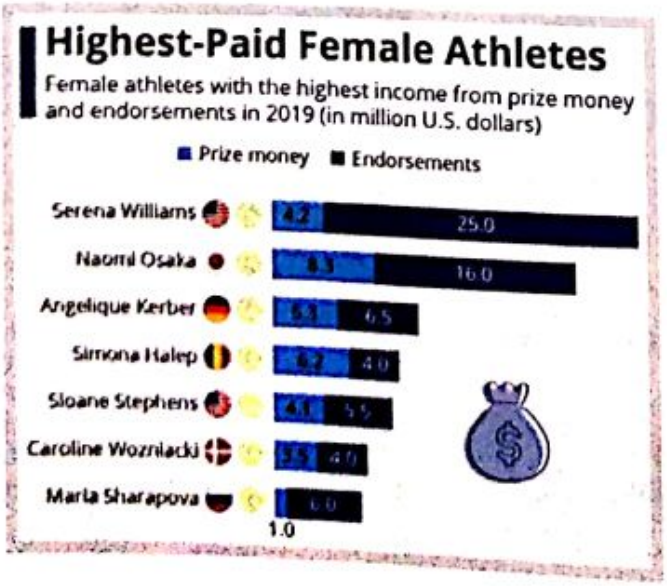
**Feb. 04:** Sadia Alvi and Aisha Arum were elected unopposed as Chairperson and as Secretary General respectively of Pakistan Baseball Women Wing.

**Feb. 04:** Aqib and Zoha grabbed the U-18 boys and girls singles titles respectively in the 5th McDonalds National Tennis Championships 2020.

**Feb. 04:** Iranian Ambassador to Pakistan Seyyed Mohammad Ali Hosseini proposed a new bloc comprising Russia, China and Turkey in addition to Pakistan and Iran for addressing regional issues and promoting cooperation among themselves.

**Feb. 05:** Chief Minister KP Mahmood Khan assigned the health portfolio to provincial finance minister Taimur Saleem Jhagra.

**Feb. 05:** Prime Minister Imran Khan concluded his two-day official visit to Malaysia where he and his Malaysian counterpart Mahathir Mohamad reaffirmed their shared desire to maintain regular high-level contact and expand bilateral economic, trade and investment ties in

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diversified fields.

**Feb. 05:** Four Pakistan Army pilots were conferred with a prestigious French military award, France National Defence Bronze Medal, for their 2018 daring mission to rescue a French mountaineer stuck on the world's ninth highest peak in northern Pakistan.

**Feb. 06:** Dr A.A. Quraishy, one of the pioneers of nature and animal conservation in Pakistan, passed away. He was 92.

**Feb. 06:** Legendary tent pegging champion and chief of the Kot Fateh Khan clan of Attock, Malik Ata Mohammad Khan, passed away.

**Feb. 07:** The National Assembly passed a resolution seeking an "exemplary punishment" of public hanging for people convicted of sexually abusing and killing children.

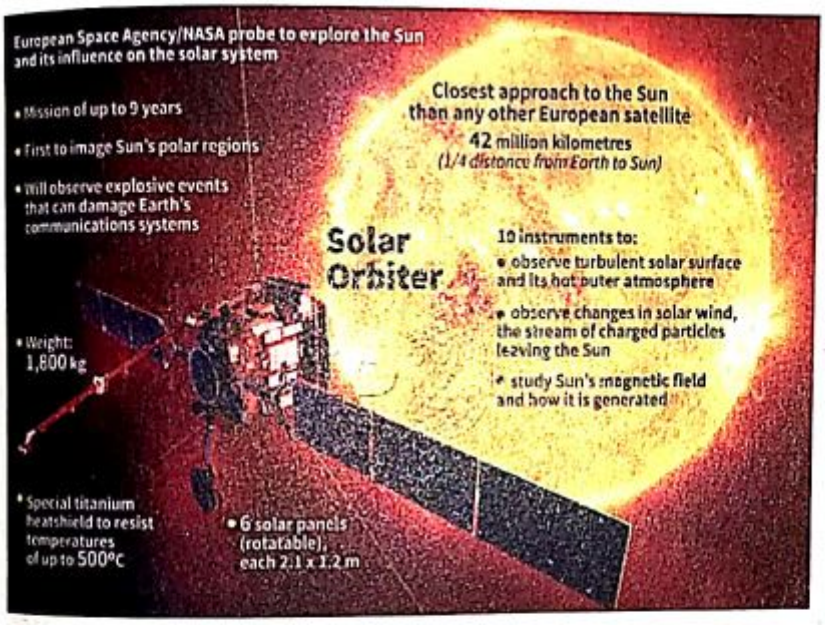
**Feb. 07:** Former national cricketer Nasir Jamshaid was sentenced to 17 months of imprisonment by a Manchester Crown Court.

**Feb. 07:** Prominent TV, film and stage actor Nighat Butt passed away at 72.

**Feb. 07:** Eminent novelist Nisar Aziz Butt passed away. She was 93.

**Feb. 07:** Chief of the Air Staff, Air Marshal Mujahid Anwar Khan, called on the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka Mahinda Rajapaksa.

**Feb. 09:** An army helicopter rescued two foreign climbers, Donald Allen Bowie and Lotta Henriikka Nakyva, who were attempting to summit Broad Peak, Baltoro Glacier.


European Space Agency/NASA probe to explore the Sun and its influence on the solar system
• Mission of up to 9 years
• First to image Sun's polar regions
• Will observe explosive events that can damage Earth's communications systems
Closest approach to the Sun than any other European satellite
42 million kilometres
(1/4 distance from Earth to Sun)
Solar Orbiter
10 instruments to:
• observe turbulent solar surface and its hot outer atmosphere
• observe changes in solar wind, the stream of charged particles leaving the Sun
• study Sun's magnetic field and how it is generated
• Weight: 1,800 kg
• Special titanium heatshield to resist temperatures of up to 500°C
• 6 solar panels (rotatable), each 2.1 x 1.2 m

**Feb. 09:** In a test match against Bangladesh, Pakistan's Nasim Shah became the youngest player to claim a hat-trick in Test cricket. Nasim broke the record of Bangladeshi bowler Alok Kapali who had staged hat-trick at the age of 19 against Pakistan in 2003 at Peshawar.

**Feb. 10:** Pakistan and Iran signed an MoU for electronic data exchange between the Customs authorities of the two countries on real time basis to control under and over-invoicing on goods.

**Feb. 10:** Waqar Hasan, who was the last surviving member of the Pakistan side which played in the country's inaugural Test against India in October 1952, died at the age of 87.

**Feb. 11:** The Islamabad High Court (IHC) restored the dissolved Pakistan Medical and Dental Council (PMDC) by setting aside the presidential ordinance that had replaced the PMDC with the Pakistan Medical Commission.

**Feb. 11:** Transgender activist Nayab Ali bagged an international activism award, the Gala Award.

**Feb. 12:** An anti-terrorism court (ATC) handed down five-and-a-half-year rigorous imprisonment (RI) each to Jamaatud Dawa (JuD) chief Hafiz Mohammad Saeed and his aide Malik Zafar Iqbal in two of the cases

## Prof. Sharif al Mujahid
### An Authority on Pakistan Movement

Jan 27: The founder chairman of Karachi University's mass communication department, Prof Sharif Al Mujahid, passed away.

**About Prof. Sharif al Mujahid**

Born in 1926 in Madras, Prof. Sharif al Mujahid was one of South Asia's most prolific writers on the history of the freedom movement, the most-quoted Pakistani scholar abroad, and undeniably an authority on Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Mujahid, a recipient of Sitara-i-Imtiaz, was educated at Madras, Stanford, McGill and Syracuse universities. He had a brilliant academic career, which won several prestigious awards, including Fulbright-Hays scholarship at Stanford, Research Fellow at McGill, an Asia Foundation Grantee at Syracuse, and a British Council fellow in the United Kingdom.

Mujahid founded the Karachi University's journalism department in 1956. When he established the Quaid-i-Azam Academy in 1976, and moved from the university campus to the time-worn barracks of Pakistan Secretariat where it was housed, the authorities forgot all about him, for he remained in the same grade and thus got the same pay and allowances for nearly a decade.

He was a prolific writer, his career as a historian of the freedom movement spanning more than seven decades in many continents. His publications include six major works, eight edited works, nine minor or co-authored works, and 22 works (original and translated) in Urdu, Arabic, French, Portuguese and other languages.

His monumental book, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah: Studies in Interpretation, was adjudged the best work on Jinnah during the 1940-82 period and was awarded the President's Award on Best Books on Quaid-i-Azam: it is the only work to qualify for the award since it was set up in 1981. He had rough moments with the establishment, for when this book hit the market during Ziaul Haq's regime, there were demands that it be banned. Reason: the book didn't follow the beaten track on Jinnah.

The other books which he wrote or to which he contributed include Quaid-i-Azam and His Times, Quotes of the Quaid, In Quest of Jinnah, The Jinnah Anthology, A Compendium of Muslim League Documents, Indian Secularism: A Case Study of the Muslim Minority, Ideological Foundations of Pakistan, Ideological Orientation of Pakistan, and Ideology of Pakistan. He also contributed chapters, among others, to Betty Burch and Allen Cole, Asian Political Systems; John Lent, Broadcasting in Asia and the Pacific, and Newspapers in Asia: Contemporary Trends and Problems; D. A. Low, The Indian National Congress: Centenary Hindsights; and Press Systems in SAARC. The list of his research papers is endless.

He also published 45 chapters in edited works, 45 papers and some 44 review articles in journals, and contributed some eighty-five articles/chapters in six encyclopaedias and yearbooks, including Collier's Encyclopaedia, Encyclopaedia of Asian History, Encyclopaedia of Education, and the Far East and Australasia. In 1964, he was Visiting Professor at Bradley University (Peoria, IL), and at the State University of New York at Buffalo, where he taught South Asian history and politics.

He also taught summer courses at Buffalo, and at the University Colleges at Oswego Cortland, Genesee, and other institutions in New York state.

The variety of visiting professorships he was offered, some of which he did not utilise, gives an idea of his standing in world academia. The offers came from St. Antony's College, Oxford, the Centre for South Asian Studied, Jawaharlal University, New Delhi, and the International Islamic University, Malaysia, where he established the Department of Communication and was its Founding Head for three years.



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relating to terror financing.

**Feb. 12:** The opening ceremony of the Pakistan Navy's major maritime exercise — Seaspark-20 — was held.

**Feb. 12:** The federal government approved a set of rules to regulate social media in the country, under which social media companies will be obliged to disclose any information or data to a designated investigation agency, when sought, and failure to abide by any of the provision will entail a fine of up to Rs500 million.

**Feb. 13:** Pakistan and Turkey finalised two MoUs to increase the level of economic engagement and mobilise the untapped potential for increasing trade and investment.

**Feb. 14:** Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan addressed a joint sitting of Pakistan's parliament.

**Feb. 14:** Pakistan and Turkey signed an MoU on trade facilitation and customs cooperation matters.

**Feb. 14:** Sarah Mehboob defeated Sara Mansoor to win the 33rd Federal Cup National Ranking Tennis Championship.

**Feb. 15:** The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Filippo Grandi said the international conference on Afghan refugees would recognise the role of Pakistan in hosting them for the past four decades.

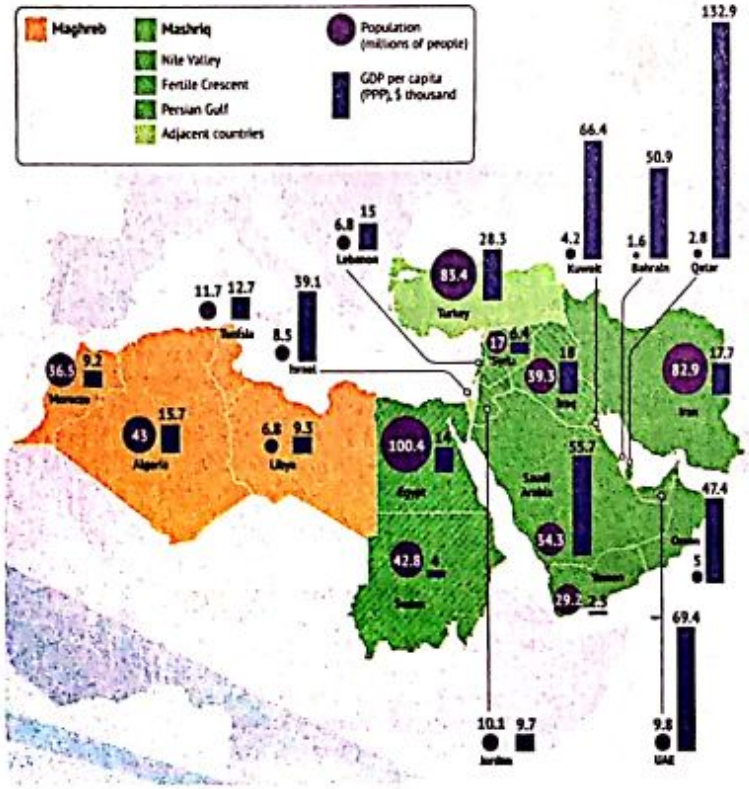
**Feb. 15:** PPP MPA in Sindh Assembly Shahnaz Ansari was murdered.

**Feb. 15:** Sindh won the final of the 3rd Pakistan Petroleum Limited (PPL) Blind Cricket Super League.

**Feb. 15:** Faizan Fayyaz clinched the SICAS Punjab Junior Tennis Championship 2020.

**Feb. 15:** Naeem-ul-Haq, special assistant to Prime Minister Imran Khan on political affairs and founding member of the ruling Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf, passed away. He was 70.

## Subregions of the Middle East and North Africa




## Civil Service Reforms

The government is all set to introduce the promised civil service reforms with a focus on the powerful Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS), the previous DMG group. The reform plan, prepared by a task force headed by former State Bank governor Dr Ishrat Husain, has been approved by the Prime Minister and the cabinet. According to press reports, its salient features include a reduction in PAS posts by more than 600. Of these, 200 at the federal level are to be filled by technical experts through a competitive process and 400 positions in the provinces by provincial civil service officers. While it makes sense to have provincial civil service cadres have a greater share in managing the affairs in their respective areas, it may not be so wise to have technocrats do administrative work. For instance, a medical professional may be excellent in the field of his or her expertise, but organisational management requires different skills. Same holds true for other technocrats. Press reports also indicate reservations and entitlements are to be done away with. That would be a negation of the widely prevalent positive discrimination aimed at giving due representation to people from disadvantage backgrounds, such as those belonging to the erstwhile tribal areas or parts of Balochistan.

One of the major reform challenges has been de-politicization of the bureaucracy by insulating it from political pressures. This calls for tenure security. It may be recalled when the task force recommended that in the case of a premature transfer the authority concerned should state the reason for it in writing, something very rational, the idea was shot down by the cabinet. It is unclear whether or not that proposal has been incorporated in the reform plan. On a positive note, promotions are to be made objective, transparent and merit-based by giving the Central Selection Board a greater say (its marks are to be increased from 15 to 30 percent) which is for the benefit of honest and capable officers. Also well-intentioned is the condition that no officer will be allowed to serve continuously for more than 10 years in a province or in the federal secretariat; and that transfer to another province or Islamabad will be mandatory on completion of that period for promotion to BS-21. However, the government is to exercise the option of retiring 'non-performing and inefficient' civil servants after 20 years of service. It could be misused to punish officers who refuse to meet unfair demands of their political masters. For those really inefficient, staying stuck in the same grade without any prospects of promotion may impel them to opt out on their own.

Bureaucracy is often blamed for a lot that is wrong in this country – not without reason. A common complaint is that whilst politicians are the target of periodic anti-corruption campaigns, bureaucrats remain untouched – save for some recent instances. It is good to note that the reform plan makes it obligatory for civil servants to make regular declarations, like legislators and public office holders, of their assets. Those living beyond their known means can, and must, be held to account. It is hoped the government will take a closer look at the proposed reforms so the civil service, the backbone of the administrative structure, becomes responsive to public needs rather than the power elites.

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# INTERNATIONAL

**Jan. 16:** The Russian parliament overwhelmingly backed President Vladimir Putin's surprise choice of Mikhail Mishustin for prime minister.

**Jan. 17:** Chinese President Xi Jinping reached Myanmar on a state visit aimed at buttressing the government of Suu Kyi and driving through multi-billion-dollar infrastructure deals.

**Jan. 17:** China's National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) released data on the country's population trends, according to which there were 14.65 million babies born in 2019, after 15.23 million in 2018 and 17.23 million in 2017. Still, China's population stood at 1.4 billion by the end of 2019.

**Jan. 17:** France deployed a radar system on the eastern coast of Saudi Arabia to beef up its ally's defences.

**Jan. 17:** Britain added Lebanon's entire Hezbollah movement to its list of terrorist groups subject to asset freezing.

**Jan. 17:** Spaniard Carlos Sainz became a triple Dakar Rally champion with the Mini X-Raid team while American Ricky Brabec took the motorcycle crown for Honda, ending KTM's 18-year dominance. Brabec is the first American to win the Dakar on two wheels.

**Jan. 18:** Ugo Humbert won his maiden ATP title beating Benoit Paire in the final of the Auckland Classic.

**Jan. 18:** Myanmar and China signed 33 agreements, including rail and deep-sea port projects along an economic corridor linking China's south-western interior to the Indian Ocean.

**Jan. 18:** The Pentagon announced new restrictions on international military students' access to guns on US bases, as well as other measures.

**Jan. 18:** Australia's Ashleigh Barty won the Adelaide International Tennis Tournament.

**Jan. 18:** India's most economic bowler Bapu Nadkarni died at the age of 86.

**Jan. 19:** The US Space Force unveiled first picture of its new service utility uniforms. It features a variant of the camouflage used by both the Army and the Air Force and has "US Space Force" embroidered above the left breast pocket.

**Jan. 19:** India beat Australia to complete an ODI series victory.

**Jan. 20:** On the eve of World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, British think tank Oxfam issued its report whereby it said that the number of billionaires doubled in the past decade and the world's 22 richest men now have more wealth than all the women in Africa.

**Jan. 20:** First cases of a SARS-like virus novel coronavirus (COVID-19) were reported in the central city of Wuhan.

**Jan. 20:** India test-fired the 3,500 km strike range nuclear-capable K-4 submarine-launched ballistic missile.

**Jan. 21:** North Korea announced that it was no longer bound by commitments to halt nuclear and missile testing, blaming the United States' failure to meet a year-end deadline for nuclear talks and "brutal and inhumane" US sanctions.

**Jan. 21:** Former Interpol chief Meng Hongwei was sentenced to more than 13 years in prison for bribery.

**Jan. 22:** The first female student Risa Takenouchi, 26, was admitted to Japan's national naval submarine academy.

**Jan. 22:** The Trump administration barred Iranian investors and business people from entering or staying in the United

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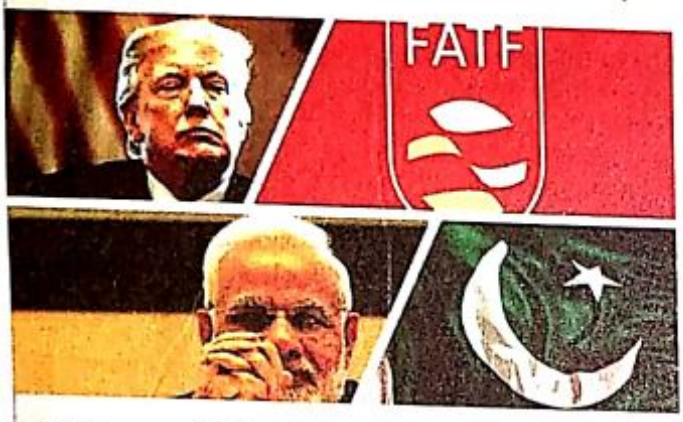
## FATF Challenge Still Persists

The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) has given Pakistan another four months to meet the remaining 13 out of a total of 27 actions to address 'strategic deficiencies' relating to counter money laundering, terrorist financing and proliferation financing. The government's spin is to focus on the positive aspects of the FATF statement particularly with reference to the acknowledgement that "to-date Pakistan has largely addressed 14 out of the 27 action items, with varying levels of progress made on the rest of the action plan." And further to claim victory given that India was actively lobbying to place Pakistan on the black list, which would have led to FATF advising all other jurisdictions to curtail if not sever business relations and transactions with Pakistan – a fact which would negate all efforts of the government to undertake painful reforms under the ongoing International Monetary Fund




(IMF) programme. Additionally, it must be borne in mind that implementation of the FATF action plan is a component of the IMF programme as the two institutions work together on this subject.

The FATF's take on Pakistan is markedly different and while its website notes 17 other countries with strategic deficiencies under increased monitoring, defined as those actively working with FATF to address these deficiencies, yet disturbingly Pakistan was not only allocated two instead of one paragraph but was also the only country where as per the FATF, "all deadlines in the action plan have expired." The threat therefore remains implicit as stated in the last paragraph "should significant and sustainable progress especially in persecuting and penalizing TF not be made by the next plenary, the FATF will take action, which could include FATF calling on its members and urging all jurisdictions to advise their FIS to give special attention to business relations and transactions with Pakistan."

FATF maintains that Pakistan must continue to work on implementing its strategic deficiencies which include: (1) demonstrating that remedial actions and sanctions are applied in cases of AML/CFT violations, relating to TF risk management and TFS obligations; (2) demonstrating that competent authorities are cooperating and taking action to identify and take enforcement action against illegal money or value transfer services (MVTS); (3) demonstrating the implementation of cross-border currency and BNI controls at all ports of entry, including applying effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions; (4) demonstrating that law enforcement agencies (LEAs) are identifying and investigating the widest range of TF activity and that TF investigations and prosecutions target designated persons and entities, and those acting on behalf or at the direction of the designated persons or entities; (5) demonstrating that TF prosecutions result in effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions; (6) demonstrating effective implementation of targeted financial sanctions (supported by a comprehensive legal obligation) against all 1,267 and 1,373 designated terrorists and those acting for or on their behalf, including preventing the raising and moving of funds, identifying and freezing assets (movable and immovable), and prohibiting access to funds and financial services; (7) demonstrating enforcement against TFS violations including administrative and criminal penalties and provincial and federal authorities cooperating on enforcement cases; (8) demonstrating that facilities and services owned or controlled by designated person are deprived of their resources and the usage of the resources.

The to-do list is indeed exhaustive and while one can appreciate the achievements by the government and understand the government's spin on the matter yet the decision-makers are not the Pakistani public but those outside the country who are carefully monitoring the entire situation. Additionally, the government's prosecution branch is particularly weak which is amply reflected by the failure of the investigating agencies to establish very serious charges made against members of the opposition that would lead to a conviction, which one would assume is in the government's interest.

States on E-1 and E-2 visas.

**Jan. 22:** Greece's parliament elected Ekaterini Sakellaropoulou as the first woman president in the country's history.

**Jan. 22:** The UK-based Economist Intelligence Unit issued 12th edition of its Democracy Index, according to which democracy has had a hard time during the past few years. From Trump's rise to US presidency to UK's surprise Brexit outcome, many robust democratic systems revealed their vulnerability to misinformation and majoritarianism.

**Jan. 23:** Queen Elizabeth II gave her formal assent for Britain to end its decades-long involvement in the European Union.

**Jan. 23:** The Trump administration published new visa rules aimed at restricting birth tourism, in which women travel to the US to give birth so their children can have US citizenship.

**Jan. 23:** Russian lawmakers approved a sweeping constitutional reform bill put forward by President Vladimir Putin. All 432 lawmakers present in the State Duma, the lower house of the Russian parliament, voted in favour of the bill.

**Jan. 24:** Lt Gen YK Joshi was appointed the commander of India's strategically crucial Northern Command which looks after the borders with both adversaries—China and Pakistan.

**Jan. 24:** UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office announced the relaxation of British government's travel advisory for British nationals due to improved security situation in Pakistan.

**Jan. 25:** England's tailenders Mark Wood and Stuart Broad scored 82 runs to set a 10th-wicket partnership record.

**Jan. 25:** During Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro's official visit to India, both countries signed 15 accords aimed at forging closer ties between the two emerging market giants across a range of sectors, especially defence.

**Jan. 25:** State Assembly of the western Indian state of Rajasthan passed a resolution demanding Modi government to scrap the controversial new citizenship law in the country.

**Jan. 26:** US basketball legend Kobe Bryant and his daughter Gianna died in a helicopter crash in Calabasas, California.

**Jan. 26:** Boeing Co. successfully staged the first flight of the world's largest twin-engined jetliner.

**Jan. 27:** An American military aircraft, a Bombardier E-11A,



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crashed in the Ghazni province of Afghanistan.

**Jan. 27:** China became the world's second largest producer of munitions, as per a report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

**Jan. 27:** Pop iconoclast Billie Eilish won five Grammys awards—Album of the Year, Song of the Year, Record of the Year and Best New Artist.

**Jan. 27:** England beat South Africa to win the fourth and final Test, and clinched a 3-1 series victory.

**Jan. 28:** Qatar's ruler appointed Sheikh Khalid bin Khalifa bin Abdulaziz Al-Thani his country's prime minister.

**Jan. 28:** Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was formally charged with bribery, fraud and breach of trust.

**Jan. 28:** United States President Donald Trump unveiled his long-delayed Middle East plan.

**Jan. 29:** Indonesia cut ties with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF).

**Jan. 29:** The European Parliament gave final approval to Britain's divorce from the European Union. EU lawmakers voted 621 for and 49 against the Brexit agreement sealed between Britain and the 27 other member states last October.

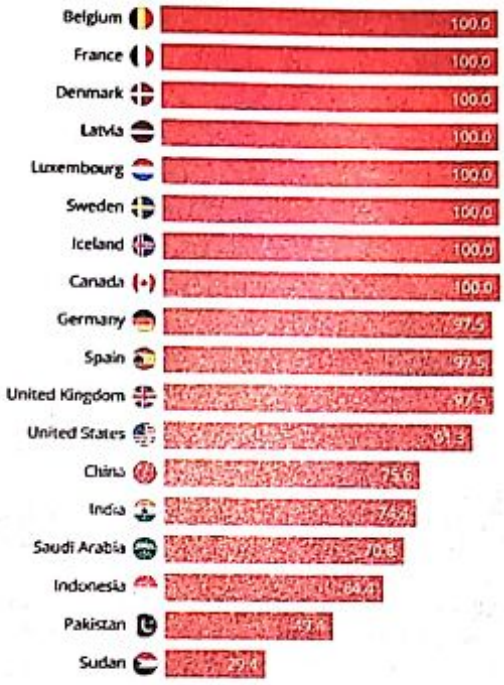
**Jan. 29:** India won the third Twenty20 International against New Zealand to wrap up the series.

**Jan. 29:** Seamus Mallon, a dogged champion of nonviolent struggle and one of the key architects of peace in Northern Ireland, died. He was 83.

**Jan. 29:** The UAE officially set a new Guinness World Record for the world's longest handshake. Beating the earlier record held by 1,730 people, a total of 1,817 people from different segments of the community came together to set the new record at Umm Al Emarat Park in Abu Dhabi.

## Only Eight Countries Have Full Equal Rights for Women

Index scores* for equality guaranteed by law in selected countries (2020)




**Jan. 31:** Poland finalised an agreement to buy dozens of F-35 fighter jets from the United States in a multi-billion dollar deal.

**Jan. 31:** Anne Cox Chambers, a newspaper heiress, diplomat and philanthropist, died at the age of 100.

**Jan. 31:** Britain ended almost half a century of integration with Europe, finally making its historic departure from the EU to begin a new future.

**Feb. 01:** Palestinian leader Mahmud Abbas announced a cut of all ties with Israel and the United States, including security cooperation.

**Feb. 01:** The Maldives was re-admitted to Commonwealth of Nations 40 months after it quit the organisation over criticism of its human rights record under president Abdulla Yameen.

**Feb. 01:** Barbora Krejcikova and Nikola Mektic defeated American Bethanie Mattek-Sands and Briton Jamie Murray to clinch the mixed doubles title at the Australian Open.

**Feb. 01:** America's Sofia Kenin stunned two-time Major champion

## GK Tidbits

1. The Democracy Index is compiled by: **The Economist Intelligence Unit**
2. Corruption Perceptions Index is an annual publication released by: **Transparency International.**
3. Transparency International is based in: **Berlin, Germany**
4. Dakar rally starts from Paris and runs through the Sahara desert to reach: **Dakar**
5. Dakar is the capital of: **Senegal**
6. Dakar rally started in: **1979**
7. The three particles that make up an atom are: **Electron, neutron, proton**
8. Northern Lights is the common name of: **Aurora Borealis**
9. The number of sides of an icosagon is: **Twenty**
10. The sign of the zodiac that is represented by the scales is: **Libra**
11. The word that means both a slight movement and a container for arrows is: **Quiver**
12. The form of modern art, whose name means 'scratched drawing' in Italian is: **Graffiti**
13. Capital of Myanmar is: **Naypyidaw**
14. The world number one female tennis star Ashleigh Barty is from: **Australia**
15. Jarmila Wolfe was a female player of: **Tennis**
16. Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was signed in: **1968**
17. The incumbent President of the European Union Commission is: **Ursula von der Leyen**
18. Yarrabubba crater is located in: **Australia**
19. The current United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is: **Filippo Grandi**
20. The incumbent governor of Balochistan is: **Justice (retd.) Amanullah Yasinzai**
21. Unesco is headquartered in: **Paris**
22. The second largest organ in human body after skin is: **Liver**
23. The most flexible muscle in the human body is: **Tongue**
24. The pea-sized gland in the centre of the skin that releases hormones that affect growth and metabolism is: **Pituitary gland**
25. The rate at which the body produces energy from nutrients is controlled by a gland named: **Thyroid gland**
26. The largest vein in the human body is: **The inferior vena cava**
27. The name of the muscle found at the top of the arm and shoulder is: **Deltoid**
28. The occipital bone is found in: **Head**
29. The Peridontal disease affects: **Teeth (disease of supporting tissue of teeth)**
30. International Day of Education is observed every year on: **January 24**
31. The winner of the first-ever Formula One world championship was: **Italy's Giuseppe Farina (1950)**
32. The country that has been most successful at the Olympics basketball is: **USA 14 gold in 18 appearances**
33. The American space shuttle, Challenger, exploded on: **January 28, 1986**
34. Pull 11 Lake is located near: **Sargodha**



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Garbine Muguruza to win the Australian Open.

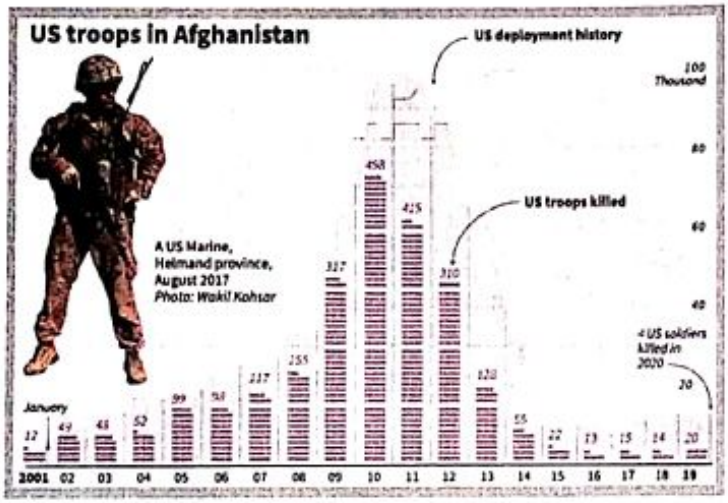
**Feb. 01:** India bumped its military spending by nearly 6% as Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government unveiled its annual budget a day after official data showed that Asia's third-largest economy recorded its slowest expansion since the 2008 global financial crisis.

**Feb. 01:** The Arab League rejected US President Donald Trump's controversial Middle East plan, saying it did not meet the "minimum rights" of the Palestinians.

**Feb. 01:** US President Donald Trump issued an expanded version of his travel ban that targets prospective immigrants from Nigeria and five other countries.

**Feb. 01:** Iraq's president named Mohammad Allawi as the country's new prime minister.

**Feb. 01:** Best-selling American author Mary Higgins Clark, known by her fans as the "Queen of Suspense", died aged 92.


US troops in Afghanistan
US deployment history
US troops killed
A US Marine, Helmand province, August 2017
Photo: Wakil Kohsar
4 US soldiers killed in 2020
January
2001 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
100 Thousand
80
60
40
20

**Feb. 02:** Japan sent a destroyer to the Gulf of Oman to guard sea lanes that supply nearly all the oil that powers the world's third-biggest economy.

**Feb. 02:** Novak Djokovic won the Australian Open title defeating Dominic Thiem in the final.

**Feb. 03:** The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation rejected US President Donald Trump's peace plan for the Middle East, calling on its 57 member states not to help implement it.

**Feb. 04:** Malawi's constitutional court ruled that President Peter Mutharika was "not duly elected" in a disputed 2019 vote, and ordered a fresh vote within 150 days.

**Feb. 04:** Former Kenyan president Daniel Arap Moi, who ruled the country with an iron fist between 1978 and 2002, died.

**Feb. 04:** The US Defence Department announced that it has deployed a submarine carrying a new long-range missile with a relatively small nuclear warhead, in response to Russian tests of similar weapons.

**Feb. 05:** Dubai International Airport (DXB) retained its position as the world's number one hub for international passengers for the sixth consecutive year with annual traffic for 2019 reaching 86.4 million.

**Feb. 05:** Switzerland was named the world's most expensive country, with Norway second and Iceland third.

**Feb. 06:** NASA's Christina Koch came back to Earth securely in the wake of breaking the spaceflight record for female space travellers with a stay of right around 11 months onboard the International Space Station.

**Feb. 06:** Kirk Douglas, one of the last superstars of Hollywood's golden age of cinema who was renowned for his intense, muscular performances in Spartacus and Paths of Glory, died aged 103.

**Feb. 06:** President Donald Trump was acquitted by the US Senate following a historic impeachment trial.

**Feb. 07:** Indian authorities extended the detention of two former Indian-Occupied Kashmir chief ministers, Mehbooba Mufti and Omar Abdullah, held for the past six months under a security clampdown, using a draconian law allowing for them to be locked up for two years without charge.

## GK Tidbits

35. The area of Pull 11 Lake is: **70 acres**
36. The sport often referred to as the Sweet Science is: **Boxing**
37. Ambassador of Palestine to Pakistan is: **Ahmed Rabei**
38. The top colour in a rainbow is: **Red**
39. The number of days in a fortnight is: **14**
40. Japanese art 'Ikebana' is related to: **Flower arrangement**
41. The inventor of first battery was: **Count Alessandro Volta**
42. The opposite of matter is: **Antimatter**
43. The planet that spins the fastest is: **Jupiter (once in just less than 10 hours)**
44. The first decentralized crypto currency was: **Bitcoin**
45. The world's tallest grass is: **Bamboo**
46. In 1943, the German 6th Army surrendered at: **Stalingrad, in southern Russia**
47. The President of South Africa who dismantled apartheid in South Africa was: **FW de Klerk**
48. Leading anti-apartheid group, the African National Congress, remained banned for: **30 years**
49. Cape Town is a city in: **South Africa**
50. His Majesty, King George VI, died in: **1952**
51. King George VI was succeeded to the throne by her daughter: **Princess Elizabeth**
52. Princess Elizabeth became the Queen at the age of: **25**
53. Besides South America, the two other continents that lie on the Tropic of Capricorn are: **Australia and Africa**
54. The creature on the flag of Wales is: **Dragon**
55. River Nile flows into: **Mediterranean Sea**
56. Paper money was first used is: **China**
57. The river that flows through London is: **Thames**
58. Pharaoh was the title given to the rulers of: **Ancient Egypt**
59. The highest mountain in the Karakorum range of mountains is: **K2**
60. Pakistan's first ODI centurion was: **Majid Khan**
61. The country that is home to the world's largest elephant population is: **Botswana**
62. The novel coronavirus is officially named: **2019-nCoV**
63. The UN health agency, World Health Organisation, is based in: **Geneva, Switzerland**
64. The World Cancer Day is observed on: **Feb 05**
65. Pakistan's most capped hockey player of all time is: **Waseem Ahmed (410 caps)**
66. The famous bowler who is known as the Sultan of Swing is: **Wasim Akram**
67. The sportsman whose nickname is the Sultan of Swat is: **Babe Ruth**
68. The number of member countries of Southern African Development Community is: **16**
69. The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) is headquartered in: **Rome, Italy**
70. Motto of Pakistan Army is: **Iman, Taqwa, Jihad-fi-Sabilillah**
71. Member Punjab in the Indus River System

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**Feb. 07:** Britain appointed its current UN envoy, Karen Pierce, the next ambassador to the United States.
**Feb. 08:** US President Donald Trump recalled his ambassador to the European Union, Gordon Sondland, and expelled Lt Col Alexander Vindman, a decorated soldier who worked at the National Security Council, out of the White House. These were the two of the highest profile witnesses in Trump's impeachment probe.
**Feb. 09:** Iran unveiled a new ballistic missile Raad-500 and launched a domestically-built satellite Zafar 1—which failed, however, to reach orbit.
**Feb. 09:** Israel imposed a ban on Palestinian agricultural exports through the Allenby crossing.
**Feb. 09:** Bangladesh beat India to win the Under-19 World Cup for the first time.
**Feb. 10:** Ibrahim "Mike" Baycora became first Muslim chief of the police of the city of Paterson, New Jersey. Turkish-American Baycora was sworn in with his left hand on a copy of the Holy Quran.
**Feb. 10:** The Palestinians abandoned their request for a vote at the UN Security Council on rejecting the US Mideast peace plan, over a lack of international support.
**Feb. 10:** The US-European Solar Orbiter probe was launched on a voyage to deepen our understanding of the Sun and how it shapes the space weather that impacts technology on Earth.
**Feb. 10:** Bong Joon Ho's Parasite became the first non-English language film to win best picture in the 92-year history of the Academy Awards.
**Feb. 10:** David Warner beat Steve Smith by one vote to win the Australian cricketer of the year award.
**Feb. 11:** New Zealand routed India to hand them their first whitewash in an ODI series in 23 years.

**Feb. 11:** Incumbent Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal's Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) inflicted a crushing defeat on Prime Minister Narendra Modi's BJP in a key election in the capital, winning 62 of the 70 seats of the state assembly.
**Feb. 11:** Belgium's Vincent Vanasch was named as the 2019 FIH men's Goalkeeper of the Year.
**Feb. 12:** Tunisia's Sara Haba became the first female to reach the holy city Makkah on a bicycle.
**Feb. 12:** The United States were bowled out for 35 by Nepal as they joined Zimbabwe in making the lowest total in a 50-over international.
**Feb. 12:** The European Union agreed to open its markets wider to Vietnam, while closing its trade doors to Cambodia.
**Feb. 12:** NATO defense ministers agreed to expand the Western alliance's training mission in Iraq.
**Feb. 12:** A 112-year-old Japanese man Chitetsu Watanabe, who was born on March 5, 1907 in Niigata, north of Tokyo, was crowned the world's oldest male.
**Feb. 13:** Syria's parliament recognised the 1915-1917 killings of up to 1.5 million Armenians as 'genocide'.
**Feb. 13:** The United States secured a seven-day reduction in violence in Afghanistan that it hopes will allow it to strike a deal with the Taliban.
**Feb. 13:** British Finance Minister Sajid Javid resigned.
**Feb. 14:** The United States announced to refuse entry to Lieutenant General Shavendra Silva, Sri Lanka's army chief, over "credible" evidence of human rights violations in the bloody 2009 finale to the civil war.
**Feb. 15:** The foreign ministers of China and the Vatican met in the first high-level encounter between the sides.
**Feb. 15:** Sweden's Armand Duplantis set a world pole vault record of 6.18 metres at an indoor meeting in Glasgow.

## GK Tidbits

Authority (Irsa) is: **Rao Irshad Ali Khan**
72. Operation Desert Storm against Iraq was launched in: **1991**
73. US Defence Secretary at the time of the launch of Operation Desert Storm was: **Dick Cheney**
74. To make a quick and clever reply is called: **Riposte**
75. India's first general election was held in: **1952**
76. The party that emerged victorious in 1952 election in India was: **Congress Party**
77. India's interim government since 1947 was led by: **Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru**
78. India's first prime minister elected by universal suffrage was: **Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru**
79. The number of people who have been out stumped twice in a single Test match is: **22**
80. The central character of the legendary romantic tale 'Heer Ranjha' was: **Mian Murad Bakhsh alias Mian Ranjha**
81. The original name of Mai Heer was: **Izzat Bibi**
82. At the time of Iranian revolution of 1979, Prime Minister of Iran was: **Shahpour Bakhtiar**
83. Nelson Mandela was freed from prison in South Africa in: **1990**
84. The prison where Nelson Mandela was kept was: **Victor-Verster Prison**
85. The only non-Asian player to have won gold in Olympics in badminton singles' event is: **Poul-Erik Hoyer Larsen**
86. The incumbent Secretary-General of NATO is: **Jens Stoltenberg**
87. The member states of Commonwealth of Nations are: **53**
88. The only boxer who boxed with the great Muhammad Ali thrice is: **Joe Frazier**
89. On the periodic table of elements, the element with the shortest name is: **Tin**
90. Oxygen was discovered by Joseph Priestley in: **1774**
91. The only two letters of the alphabet that do not appear on the Periodic Table are: **J and Q**
92. The inorganic molecule produced by lightning is: **Ozone**
93. Newton, the scientific unit named after Sir Isaac Newton, measures: **Force**
94. The mathematical formula for Newton's Second Law of Motion is: **F=ma (Force equals mass times acceleration)**
95. The first four digits of the value of Pi are: **3.141**
96. The change in a wave's frequency when the source and observer are in motion relative to one another is known as: **The Doppler Effect (Doppler Shift)**
97. The type of number that has no factors other than 1 and itself is: **Prime number**
98. MRI is the acronym used for a medical imaging technique namely: **Magnetic resonance imaging**
99. Revolutionary leader Fidel Castro was the youngest ever Prime Minister of: **Cuba**
100. The capital of Cuba is: **Havana**

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## MCQs / NATIONAL

1. Maj Gen Azhar Waqas is the current director general of _____.
(a) ISPR (b) *MI*
(c) NACTA (d) FIA

2. On Jan. 16, Maj Gen Sarfraz Ali was appointed inspector general of the Frontier Corps (South) _____.
(a) Sindh (b) Punjab
(c) *Balochistan* (d) KP

3. On Jan. 17, Pakistan's noted mountaineer Jabbar Bhatti climbed 6,962-metre-high Mount Aconcagua, the highest peak in _____.
(a) *South America* (b) North America
(c) Europe (d) Africa

4. On Jan. 17, PCB _____ won the National Triangular T20 Women's Championship title.
(a) *Challengers* (b) Blasters
(c) Dynamites (d) None of these

5. On Jan. 20, the government notified the appointment of _____ as deputy governor State Bank of Pakistan.
(a) Haris Tahir (b) *Murtaza Syed*
(c) Nisar Durrani (d) Fakhara Rizwan

6. The current chairman of Pakistan Stock Exchange (PSX) is _____.
(a) Ashraf Bawany (b) Farrukh Khan
(c) Ahmed Chinoy (d) *Sulaiman Mehdi*

7. Dr Shireen Mazari is the current Federal Minister for _____.
(a) Defence (b) *Human Rights*
(c) Law & Justice (d) SAFRON

8. Pakistan has been ranked _____ on the 2019 Democracy Index.
(a) *108th* (b) 110th
(c) 113th (d) 115th

9. On Jan. 22, Pakistan and _____ agreed to amend an inter-governmental agreement in a bid to execute a $2-billion gas pipeline project by avoiding US sanctions.
(a) *Russia* (b) Iran
(c) China (d) Turkey

10. Pakistan has been ranked _____ out of 180 countries on the Corruption Perceptions Index 2019.
(a) 118 (b) *120*
(c) 134 (d) 146

11. On Jan. 23, Pakistan conducted a successful training launch of surface-to-surface ballistic missile _____, capable of delivering multiple types of warheads up to a range of 290 kms.
(a) Barq (b) Raad
(c) Ghauri (d) *Ghaznavi*

12. On Jan. 23, top seed _____ clinched the Jubilee Insurance U-21 National Snooker Championship.
(a) Asjad Ali (b) *Haris Tahir*
(c) M. Asif (d) Umar Farooq

13. Pakistan's first-ever female architect, _____, has won the prestigious Jane Drew Prize 2020.
(a) Anita Turab (b) *Yasmeen Lari*
(c) Fauzia Qureshi (d) Komal Parvez

14. On Jan. 24, the government notified _____ as the Chief Election Commissioner for a five-year term.
(a) *Sikandar Sultan Raja*
(b) Nisar Durrani
(c) Shah Muhammad Jatoi
(d) None of these

15. National Radio Telecommunication Corporation is located in _____.
(a) Attock (b) Abbottabad
(d) Hyderabad (d) *Haripur*

16. On Jan. 24, Adviser to PM on _____, Malik Amin Aslam, launched Pakistan's first three-wheeler electric vehicles, in Lahore.
(a) Energy (b) *Climate Change*
(c) Communications
(d) Science & Technology

17. On Jan. 25, a 286-foot-tall public art mural named _____ was unveiled at Centrepoint in Karachi.
(a) Rising Karachi (b) *Rising Blue*
(c) A City by Sea (d) Karachi Nostalgia

18. Rising Blue mural has been designed by _____ artist Giuseppe Percivati.
(a) German (b) French
(c) Swiss (d) *Italian*

19. On Jan. 25, NEPRA awarded generation licences to two solar power plants being setup in _____ with a cumulative generation capacity of 112.2MW.
(a) Sindh (b) Punjab
(c) *Balochistan* (d) Gilgit-Baltistan

20. The Economic Freedom Index, 2019, compiled by the Washington-based Heritage Foundation, has ranked Pakistan the _____ freest economy on a list of 186.
(a) 126th (b) *131st*
(c) 140th (d) 157th

21. On Jan. 28, the State of _____ donated a mobile health unit to the government of Pakistan.
(a) Mozambique (b) *Palestine*
(c) Austria (d) Vatican

22. Mohammad Munaf, who passed away on Jan. 29, played _____ Tests for Pakistan from 1959 to 1962.
(a) Three (b) *Four*
(c) Thirteen y (d) Eighteen

23. On Jan. 30, _____ International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes approved Pakistan's petition for a review in the Reko Diq case, in which the country was slapped with a $6 billion fine.
(a) WTO's (b) UN's
(c) IMF's (d) *World Bank's*

24. On Jan. 30, _____ was appointed DG National FATF Secretariat/Cell made in Ministry of Finance.
(a) *Khawaja Adnan Zaher*
(b) Khalique Hussaini
(c) Nosheen Aftab (d) Afshan Malik

25. On Feb. 01, _____ conferred the highest military award Bintang Jalasena Utama upon Naval Chief Admiral Zafar Mahmood Abbasi
(a) Thailand (b) *Indonesia*
(c) Sri Lanka (d) Malaysia

26. On _____, a 15-member group of the first-ever Pakistani Female Engagement Team, deployed with Monusco were awarded the UN Medal.
(a) Jan. 30 (b) Jan. 31
(c) *Feb. 01* (d) Feb. 02

27. On Feb. 02, Prime Minister Imran Khan appointed Naseemur Rehman the focal person for the government's _____ programme.
(a) *Panah Gah* (b) Polio Eradication
(c) Education (d) Housing

28. Monusco is the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in _____.
(a) *DR Congo* (b) Haiti
(c) Syria (d) Iraq

29. Seyyed Mohammad Ali Hosseini is the current ambassador of _____ to Pakistan.
(a) *Iran* (b) Bahrain
(c) Afghanistan (d) Yemen

30. On Feb. 05, Prime Minister Imran

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Khan concluded his two-day official visit to _____.
(a) Iran (b) *Malaysia*
(c) Davos (d) Turkey

31. On Feb. 05, four Pakistan Army pilots were conferred with a prestigious _____ military award, National Defence Bronze Medal.
(a) Italian (b) German
(c) *French* (d) Swedish

32. Located in northern Pakistan, _____ is the world's 9th highest peak.
(a) Kangchenjunga (b) *Nanga Parbat*
(c) Makalu (d) Lhotse

33. On _____, the National Assembly passed a significant resolution seeking an "exemplary punishment" of public hanging for people convicted of sexually abusing and killing children.
(a) Feb. 05 (b) *Feb. 07*
(c) Feb. 09 (d) Feb. 11

34. On Feb. 09, in a match against _____, Pakistan's Nasim Shah became the youngest player to claim a hat-trick in Test cricket.
(a) South Africa (b) New Zealand
(c) Afghanistan (d) *Bangladesh*

35. On Feb. 10, Waqar Hasan, who was the last surviving member of the Pakistan side which played in the country's inaugural Test against _____, died.
(a) *India* (b) England
(c) South Africa (d) Australia

36. Pakistan played its inaugural Test against India in _____.
(a) Sept. 1948 (b) Jan. 1950
(c) *Oct. 1952* (d) July 1956

37. On Feb. 11, AFD, the _____ Agency for Development, signed an agreement with Pakistan to provide a technical assistance grant of 0.5 million euros for capacity building of Private Power and Infrastructure Board.
(a) Austrian (b) German
(c) Italian (d) *French*

38. On Feb. 11, Pakistan's transgender activist _____ bagged an international activism award, the Gala Award.
(a) Mavra Malik (b) Almas Bobby
(c) Nasim Nazo (d) *Nayab Ali*

39. On Feb. 13, Pakistan and _____ finalised two MoUs to increase the level of economic engagement and mobilise the untapped potential for increasing trade and investment.
(a) *Turkey* (b) Russia
(c) Japan (d) Malaysia

40. On Feb. 15, Naeem-ul-Haq, special assistant to Prime Minister Imran Khan on _____, and founding member of the ruling Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf, passed away.
(a) Information (b) *Political Affairs*
(c) Education (d) Climate Change

## INTERNATIONAL

1. On Jan. 16, _____ scrapped mandatory exit permits for migrant domestic staff and other groups.
(a) Saudi Arabia (b) Kuwait
(c) *Qatar* (d) UAE

2. On Jan. 16, the Russian parliament

overwhelmingly backed President Vladimir Putin's choice of _____ for prime minister.
(a) Mikhail Fradkov
(b) *Mikhail Mishustin*
(c) Viktor Zubkov
(d) Mikhail Kasyanov

3. On Jan. 17, Chinese President Xi Jinping reached _____ on a state visit aimed at buttressing the embattled government and driving through multi-billion-dollar deals.
(a) Yemen (b) *Myanmar*
(c) Hong Kong (d) Taiwan

4. On Jan. 17, China's National Bureau of Statistics released data on the country's population trends, according to which there were _____ babies born in 2019.
(a) *14.65 million* (b) 18.85 million
(c) 20.15 million (d) 22.35 million

5. On Jan. 17, _____ deployed a radar system on the eastern coast of Saudi Arabia.
(a) USA (b) *France*
(c) Russia (d) Germany

6. On Jan. 17, _____ finance ministry added Lebanon's entire Hezbollah movement to its list of terrorist groups subject to asset freezing.
(a) USA's (b) Israel's
(c) *Britain's* (d) South Africa's

7. On Jan. 17, _____ Carlos Sainz became a triple Dakar Rally champion.
(a) Finnish (b) British
(c) *Spaniard* (d) Italian

8. On Jan. 18, _____ Ashleigh Barty won the Adelaide International Tennis Tournament.
(a) *Australia's* (b) Russia's
(c) Switzerland's (d) Ukraine's

9. On _____, the United States Space Force unveiled its first picture of the branch's new service utility uniforms.
(a) Jan 18 (b) *Jan. 19*
(c) Jan. 20 (d) Jan. 21

10. Formed in 1995 by a group of independent non-governmental organizations, Oxfam International is based in _____.
(a) Abuja, Nigeria (b) London, UK
(c) *Nairobi, Kenya* (d) Oxford, UK

11. World Economic Forum is an annual gathering held in _____, Switzerland.
(a) Bern (b) *Davos*
(c) Zurich (d) Geneva

12. On Jan. 21, _____ announced that it was no longer bound by commitments to halt nuclear and missile testing.
(a) Iraq (b) Iran
(c) *North Korea* (d) None of these

13. On Jan. 21, former Interpol chief _____ was sentenced to more than 13 years in prison for bribery.
(a) Han Zheng (b) *Meng Hongwei*
(c) Li Zhanshu (d) Kim Jong Yang

14. On Jan. 22, the first female student, Risa Takenouchi, was admitted to _____ national naval submarine academy.

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(a) Vietnam's (b) *Japan's*
(c) Cambodia's (d) China's

15. On Jan. 22, the Trump administration barred _____ investors and business people from entering or staying in the US on E-1 and E-2 visas.
(a) Chinese (b) *Iranian*
(c) North Korean (d) Russian

16. On Jan. 22, _____ parliament elected Ekaterini Sakellaropoulou as the first woman president in the country's history.
(a) *Greece's* (b) Finland's
(c) Sweden's (d) Croatia's

17. Democracy Index is released every year by _____-based Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU).
(a) *London* (b) Birmingham
(c) Dublin (d) Oxford

18. State Duma is the lower house of the Federal Assembly of _____.
(a) Latvia (b) *Russia*
(c) Thailand (d) Taiwan

19. On Jan. 25, _____ tailenders Mark Wood and Stuart Broad scored 82 runs together to set a record 10th-wicket partnership
(a) New Zealand's (b) *England's*
(c) South Africa's (d) Australia's

20. On Jan. 25, during _____ President Jair Bolsonaro's official visit to India, both countries signed 15 accords.
(a) *Brazilian* (b) Swiss
(c) Kenyan (d) Swedish

21. On _____, US basketball legend Kobe Bryant and his daughter Gianna died in a helicopter crash.
(a) Jan. 22 (b) Jan. 24
(c) *Jan. 26* (d) Jan. 28

22. On Jan. 26, _____ successfully staged the first flight of the world's largest twin-engined jetliner.
(a) Avnet (b) Amcor
(c) *Boeing Co.* (d) Aircastle

23. On Jan. 27, _____ became the world's second largest producer of munitions, as per a report by SIPRI.
(a) USA (b) *China*
(c) Russia (d) Germany

24. On Jan. 27, pop iconoclast _____ won five Grammys awards.
(a) Alina Baraz (b) Ailee
(c) *Billie Eilish* (d) Toni Braxton

25. On Jan. 28, Qatar's ruler appointed Sheikh Khalid bin Khalifa bin Abdulaziz Al-Thani his country's _____.
(a) *Prime Minister* (b) Energy Minister
(c) Finance Minister (d) Foreign Minister

26. On Jan. 29, _____ cut ties with the World Wildlife Fund as it accused the global conservation group of overstepping its mandate in the country.
(a) France (b) *Indonesia*
(c) Russia (d) Egypt

27. The European Parliament gave final approval to Britain's divorce from the European Union, on _____.
(a) Jan. 26 (b) Jan. 27
(c) *Jan. 29* (d) Jan. 30

28. On Jan. 29, Seamus Mallon, a dogged champion of nonviolent struggle and one of the key architects

of peace in _____, died.
(a) *Northern Ireland* (b) Vietnam
(c) Kenya (d) Sudan

29. On Jan. 29, the _____ officially set a new Guinness World Record for the world's longest handshake.
(a) Lebanon (b) China
(c) *UAE* (d) India

30. The European Court of Human Rights is based in _____, France.
(a) *Strasbourg* (b) Nice
(c) Paris (d) Cannes

31. On Jan. 31, _____ finalised an agreement to buy dozens of F-35 fighter jets from the United States.
(a) *Poland* (b) Saudi Arabia
(c) Yemen (d) Qatar

32. Britain ended almost half a century of integration with Europe on _____, finally making its historic departure from the EU to begin a new future.
(a) Jan. 28 (b) Jan. 29
(c) *Jan. 31* (d) Feb. 01

33. On Feb. 01, Palestinian leader Mahmud Abbas announced to cut all ties with Israel and the United States in response to President Donald Trump's Middle East plan which he announced on _____.
(a) Jan. 27 (b) *Jan. 28*
(c) Jan. 29 (d) Jan. 30

34. On Feb. 01, _____ was re-admitted to Commonwealth of Nations 40 months after it quit the organisation.
(a) Brunei (b) *Maldives*
(c) Cameroon (d) Bangladesh

35. In an emergency meeting at its headquarters in _____, the Arab League rejected US President Donald Trump´s controversial Middle East plan.
(a) Doha (b) Dubai
(c) *Cairo* (d) Riyadh

36. On Feb. 05, _____ International Airport retained its position as the world's number one hub for international passengers for the sixth consecutive year.
(a) King Fahad (b) *Dubai*
(c) Heathrow (d) Paris

37. On _____, Kirk Douglas, one of the last superstars of Hollywood's golden age of cinema, died aged 103.
(a) Feb. 04 (b) Feb. 05
(c) *Feb. 06* (d) Feb. 08

38. On _____, President Donald Trump was acquitted by the US Senate following a historic impeachment trial.
(a) Feb. 04 (b) Feb. 05
(c) *Feb. 06* (d) Feb. 08

39. On Feb. 09, Bangladesh defeated _____ to win the Under-19 World Cup for the first time.
(a) Sri Lanka (b) Pakistan
(c) Nepal (d) *India*

40. On Feb. 11, incumbent Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal's Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) won _____ seats in the 70-strong Delhi State Assembly.
(a) *62* (b) 64
(c) 66 (d) 67



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